

# THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE BOOK

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E. C. ROBBINS

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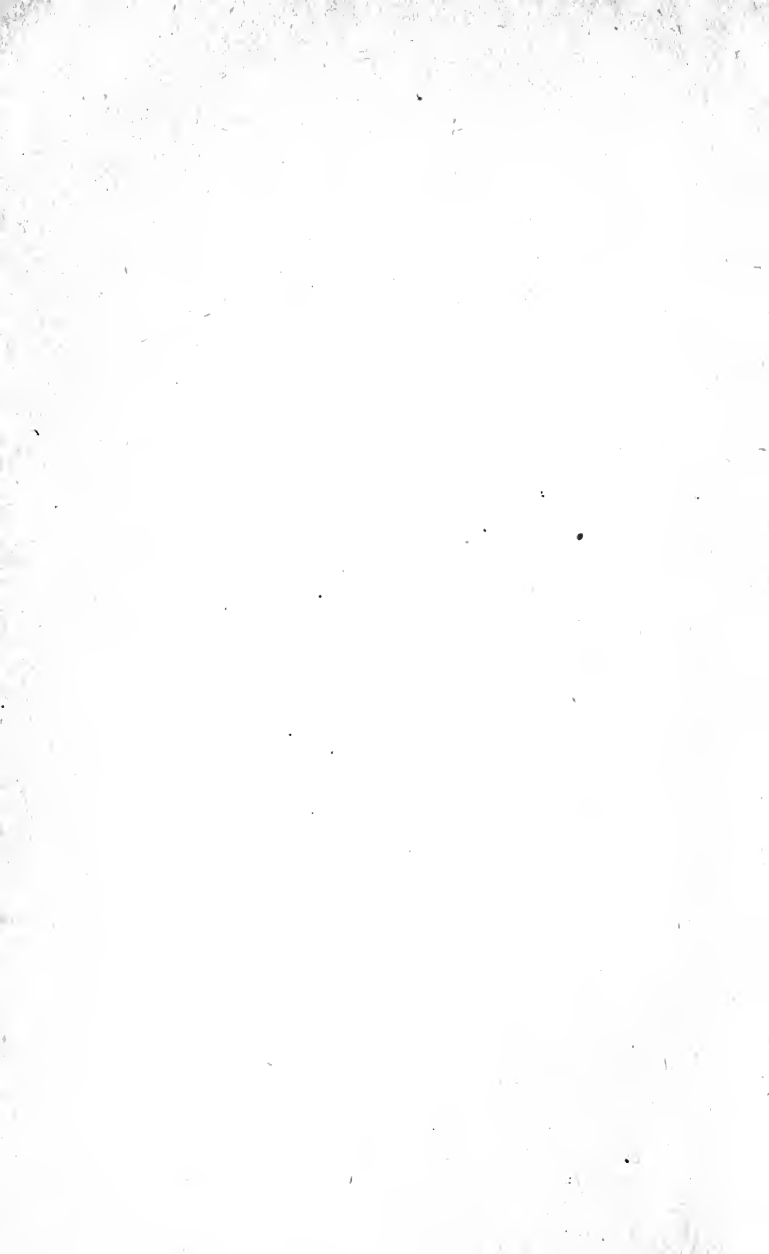
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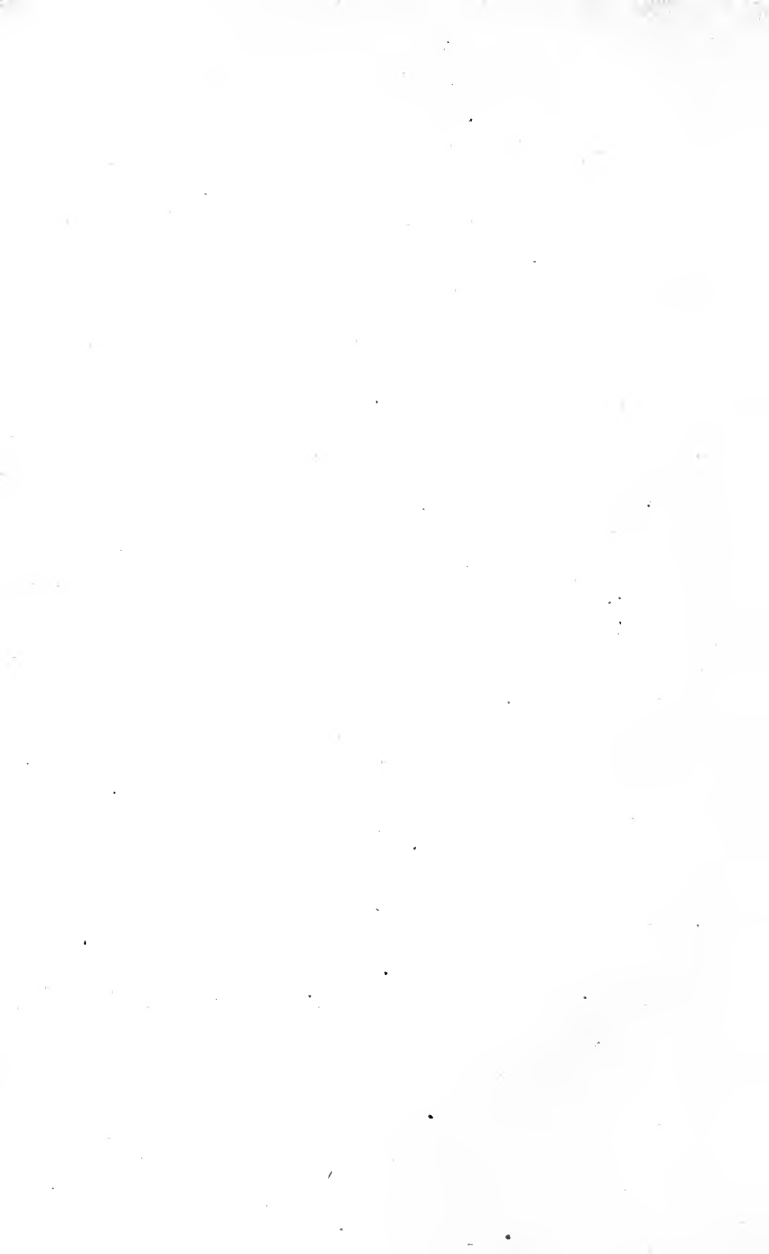






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# **THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE BOOK**



# THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE BOOK

BY

E. C. ROBBINS

DEBATE COACH AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA



CHICAGO

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

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## PREFACE

**F**EW secondary schools offer courses in debate, and in consideration of this fact the present volume has been prepared. It is hoped that it will be of service to those who wish to engage in public discussion and yet who are unable to secure the advantages of special training. The theoretical side of the subject and its technical divisions, except those germane to the construction of debate, have been purposely avoided, and the suggestions and examples given are largely based on the personal experiences of the author.

The foremost object has been to present a book that will be useful to the pupil in the high school. To that end every reference in each bibliography has been evaluated, and citations to periodicals that are not available to the average library have been intentionally omitted. There is nothing more exasperating and disheartening to a debater than to have in his possession a large number of references to which he does not have access. With each question, however, bibliography sufficient for a thorough discussion has been included.

The chapters which appear under the title of "Introductory Information" emphasize the fact that there are definite laws governing debate, and that their mastery is within the reach of those who are willing to work. Some of the more important rules have been set forth somewhat in detail, and a study of the briefs which follow will give

the essential information concerning the framework around which a debate is built. It should be understood that the debater is not to transfer bodily to his speech the arguments here presented. They merely illustrate the way in which various points may be grouped effectively.

In securing material the author has been assisted by a large number of friends, both within and without the University. Special acknowledgment is here made of the generous assistance and helpful suggestions of Miss Margaret W. Brown, the librarian of The Iowa State Traveling Library, whose work in supplying material for debate has brought her into close touch with the particular needs of high-school pupils.

E. C. ROBBINS.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,  
IOWA CITY, IOWA,  
*July, 1911.*

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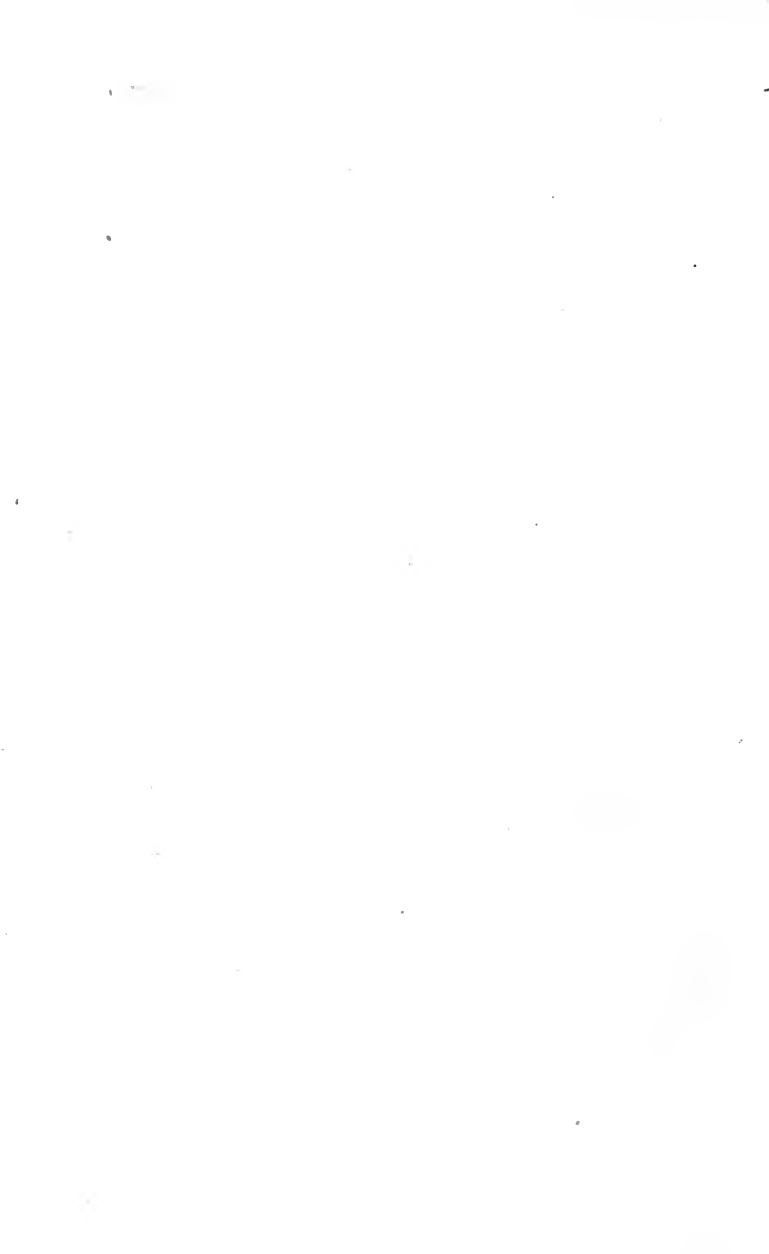
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## ABBREVIATIONS AND FULL TITLES OF PERIODICALS INDEXED

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| <p><i>Am. Jour. of Pol.</i>—American Journal of Politics.</p> <p><i>Am. J. Soc.</i>—American Journal of Sociology.</p> <p><i>American Political Science Association Proceedings.</i></p> <p><i>Ann. Am. Acad.</i>—Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.</p> <p><i>Arena.</i>—Arena.</p> <p><i>Atlan.</i>—Atlantic Monthly.</p> <p><i>Blackw.</i>—Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.</p> <p><i>Bookm.</i>—Bookman.</p> <p><i>Cent.</i>—Century.</p> <p><i>Char.</i>—Charities and The Commons.</p> <p><i>Chaut.</i>—Chautauquan.</p> <p><i>City Hall.</i>—City Hall.</p> <p><i>Columbian Magazine.</i></p> <p><i>Contemp.</i>—Contemporary Review.</p> <p><i>Cosmopol.</i>—Cosmopolitan.</p> <p><i>Cur. Lit.</i>—Current Literature.</p> <p><i>Everybody's.</i>—Everybody's Magazine.</p> <p><i>Everywhere.</i>—Everywhere.</p> <p><i>Fortn.</i>—Fortnightly Review.</p> <p><i>Forum.</i>—Forum.</p> <p><i>Gunton.</i>—Gunton's Magazine.</p> <p><i>Harper.</i>—Harper's Monthly Magazine.</p> <p><i>Harp. W.</i>—Harper's Weekly.</p> <p><i>Ind.</i>—Independent.</p> <p><i>Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.</i></p> <p><i>J. Pol. Econ.</i>—Journal of Political Economy.</p> <p><i>Liv. Age.</i>—Living Age.</p> | <p><i>McClure.</i>—McClure's Magazine.</p> <p><i>Moody.</i>—Moody's Magazine.</p> <p><i>Municipal Affairs.</i>—Municipal Affairs.</p> <p><i>Municipal Gov't.</i>—Municipal Government.</p> <p><i>Nation.</i>—Nation.</p> <p><i>Nat. Conf. City Gov't.</i>—National Conference City Government.</p> <p><i>National Magazine.</i>—National Magazine.</p> <p><i>National Monthly.</i>—National Monthly.</p> <p><i>New Eng. M.</i>—New England Magazine.</p> <p><i>19th Cent.</i>—Nineteenth Century.</p> <p><i>No. Am.</i>—North American Review.</p> <p><i>Northwestern Banker.</i>—Northwestern Banker.</p> <p><i>Outlook.</i>—Outlook.</p> <p><i>Pol. Sci. Q.</i>—Political Science Quarterly.</p> <p><i>Pop. Sci.</i>—Popular Science Monthly.</p> <p><i>Q. J. Econ.</i>—Quarterly Journal of Economics.</p> <p><i>Quar.</i>—Quarterly Review.</p> <p><i>R. of Rs.</i>—Review of Reviews, American.</p> <p><i>Sci. Am.</i>—Scientific American.</p> <p><i>Scrib. M.</i>—Scribner's Magazine.</p> <p><i>U. S. Indust. Com.</i>—United States Industrial Commission.</p> <p><i>World To-Day.</i>—World To-Day.</p> <p><i>World's Work.</i>—World's Work.</p> |
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# THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE BOOK

## CHAPTER I

### THE VALUE OF DEBATE

**P**UBLIC discussion is one of the means by which man has sought to advance himself in the scale of civilization. It is said that from the earliest beginnings of human history down to the present time every race has carried on debate in some form. Argumentation is a natural means of gathering and disseminating knowledge, and the fact is significant that the more civilized a nation becomes, the more skilful and exacting is its discussion. The part debate has played in world affairs is seen on every page of history and it is one of the great educational forces.

Debate, as the term is here used, has a more formal and specific meaning than mere public discussion. It presupposes the selection of a definite topic which is to be argued. It assumes that teams or "sides," composed of two or three persons, have been selected, and that one team is prepared to affirm the proposition and that the other is ready to deny it. The discussion often takes place in public and before an impartial jury — usually three persons who have been asked

to act as judges of the debate. Each speaker is allowed a given amount of time for his main speech, generally twelve minutes in inter-collegiate debates, with five minutes for rebuttal. At the conclusion of the argument the judges render their decision as to which team has done the more effective work. They may vote either with or without conference. A plan which is growing in favor is to have each judge give his decision independently of the other two.

There are few young people who do not possess some natural aptitude for effective work in public argument.

Who May  
Debate

Successful debate is largely the result of practice. In high-school athletics a contestant spends days and months in training before he becomes a consistent hurdler or fills his position creditably on the football team; so, also, in the field of debate the contestant must spend time in search of material, in sifting arguments, and in writing and rewriting his speech. Many inter-collegiate debaters have said that they never understood the full significance of what is required in debate until they met their first defeat. Be that as it may, it is training rather than a natural aptitude that leads to ultimate achievement. Pupils, of course, will find a teacher's suggestions invaluable, but, for the most part, it is the individual perseverance of each boy and girl that leads to success.

It is often the case that debaters in high school or university, on account of pleasing voices or naturally good stage presence, are able to make a better initial appearance than their opponents, and because of this advantage, become so self-satisfied that they will not work. They seem to think that they are born debaters, and that it is not necessary for them to put forth a worthy effort. The outcome of such an assumption is inevitable. In the junior

and senior years these same self-satisfied students find their places suddenly usurped by others, who at the beginning apparently possessed fewer natural capabilities, but who devoted themselves earnestly to training. In some schools, the coaches, in order to win, have adopted the pernicious practice of writing speeches for their debaters. Nothing so quickly demoralizes the work of a debater or so effectively destroys his self-reliance as the writing of debate by a coach. Each pupil should go to his instructor for guidance, but he, himself, should gather his own material, and write and deliver his own speech. It is only as he conscientiously does this work that he is worthy to be called a debater.

There is but one object in debate. It is to induce the audience and judges to accept the speaker's explanation of the question under discussion. All other matters are insignificant to the debater when compared with the purpose of creating in the minds of his listeners such a strong sense of the correctness of what he is saying that, for the time being at least, all former convictions are forgotten and the words of the speaker are taken as final. The purpose, then, is simple. It is to convince.

Although the debater properly has but one purpose in mind, the means that he uses to accomplish his object are varied. Every resource at the command of the speaker must be marshalled into service. These include personal appearance, voice, manner of speaking, earnestness, enthusiasm, persuasiveness, oratory, and kindred factors. They are as substantial elements in successful debate as the material which the debater has collected and the care with which he has prepared it. In

**The Purpose  
in Debate**

**Means Em-  
ployed**

other words, the debater is giving expression to his own naturalness. He is using those faculties which are a part of his natural being, but which, because they may have never been called into play in the particular manner in which he is now employing them, seem to him at first new, unnatural, and unreal. Nothing artificial is required or desirable.

Educators are coming more and more to attach importance to the fact that students who are active in their high-school and university debating societies are the ones who later on are chosen by their fellow men to carry on the more difficult and important tasks in State and national life. A professor of philosophy recently said that he would rather have his son engage in debate than in any other form of student activity. When asked why he was so staunch a friend of debate, he replied that it was the only branch of work which forced the student to the limit of his ability and put him in the position of having gone to the very bottom of his resources. "It is a fine thing," he added, "for any young person to be pushed at some time to his very limit; to feel that he has exhausted every ounce of his power in trying to accomplish a given object. It is only after a young person has done this that he really comes to know his own points of strength and weakness." While the underlying element of debate is a struggle, there is something in the very nature of the contest that is compelling. It is doubtful if there is greater fascination than that of appealing to an audience, and thus having the opportunity to direct, at least for the time being, the channel of its thought. When a debater has once enjoyed such a privilege he does not soon forget the satisfaction it gives. The results are not alone those akin to



personal aggrandizement. A debater can not present a subject for the enlightenment of an audience without being conscious of the responsibility which rests upon him. He is impelled to give the best of his time and thought to the work.

Aside from these fundamental results, there are others, which, while not so basic, perhaps, are none the less gratifying. Debate teaches the student to become a careful and systematic reader. As he continues the work he acquires a more painstaking style of speech. Almost unconsciously he watches his enunciation and pronunciation, until the essentials of a well-rounded voice become, as it were, second nature. His personal appearance receives more attention than heretofore. He learns to give quick retort and to analyze the issues involved in a given proposition. If called upon unexpectedly to speak in public, he can turn all the resources of his mind upon the point he is to discuss, and by his ease and unassuming manner quickly win the confidence and respect of his audience. Thus it is seen that debate is far-reaching. It affords an opportunity for systematic training, and it gives pleasure to those who participate in it. It paves the way for greater accomplishments in later life. A short time ago a well-known dean of a law college, in speaking to members of a certain literary society, said in substance:

"Some of my students go down to the football field, and for a brief time the papers are filled with accounts of their achievements. Then they graduate and go away. Scarcely ever again do I hear or see public mention of them. Other of my students enter the field of debate. For the time being it seems as if their rewards were less than those of the athlete. Then they, too, graduate and go away. But

as the years pass, I continually hear and see public mention of them. Some are guiding the work of towns and cities in which they live. Others are occupying judicial positions of honor and responsibility. Still others are in the political arena. I read of them urging reforms in State legislatures. Their voices resound in the halls of Congress. As governors of States they are holding in their hands the destinies of many people. It is the high-school and university debaters who in after years take an active part in the work of the world."

## CHAPTER II

### PRELIMINARY WORK

LET it be supposed that six pupils have been appointed by the program committee of a literary society \* to prepare a public debate. The members, of course, will be divided into opposing teams with a leader and two others on each side. It will be assumed, also, that the pupils have had no previous experience in debate. They are in high school and have only such facilities for work on the question as are afforded by the average library. By following them through the various stages of their preparation for the contest, a fairly accurate idea of the essentials necessary to successful debate will be obtained.

The first problem to be considered is the selection of a question for debate. This is a more important matter than is generally supposed. The six debaters meet in joint conference. A variety of subjects is suggested, but it is seen almost immediately that many of them are not debatable. Some are naturally one-sided as, for example, the proposition, **RESOLVED**, That criminals should be punished. The team on the negative side of a question so stated would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure satisfactory argument upholding its

\* In Appendix A, page 215, is found a model constitution for a high-school debating society. A large part of this constitution has been taken directly from the records of a literary society which has been in existence for over fifty years, and is to-day a vigorous organization.

side. Again, it is often the case that where questions permit of an even division of sides, there is a dearth of available reference material. This is especially true of certain topics which interest the public only for a brief time. Still other questions, it will be observed, so appeal to prejudice that it is not advisable to discuss them. Before many audiences it would be inexpedient for a speaker to uphold the proposition that negroes should be given social equality with the whites. Another matter to be considered is whether the question is of general interest. Since the program is to be public, it is but good taste and sound judgment to select a subject which appeals to the audience as a whole.

When a suitable and fair subject has been chosen, the next step is to secure a proper wording of the resolution. This is often a difficult task. The statement should be simple, yet so explicit that its meaning can not be misinterpreted. It should place the burden of proof upon the affirmative. Even a slight mistake in wording may result in a question that is entirely one-sided.

One of the most practical suggestions which can be made is that the debaters should not attempt to state the question. It should be submitted to an instructor, or, if possible, to a specialist who has in mind the vital points involved. If, for instance, the question deals with some phase of the national financial system, a banker undoubtedly would be able to make suggestions as to a statement of the question. If the proposition is of a legal or political nature, local attorneys should be asked concerning it. Wording the proposition is work which properly belongs to a mature mind.

Even after some older person has stated the question, the debaters should be careful to observe that there are no

words of ambiguous meaning, and that the question expresses exactly the idea in mind. Six high-school pupils decided to debate the question: "RESOLVED, That Arctic explorations are not justified." When, on the evening of the contest, the negative sought to introduce evidence in regard to the scientific discoveries made on Arctic trips, the affirmative immediately objected, claiming that the question was limited to the search for the North Pole. Certainly there was nothing in the wording of the question which would lead a judge to believe that the affirmative was within the bounds of reason in trying to so limit the question, yet an investigation showed that when the question was first framed the two teams really had in mind nothing except the search for the North Pole.

The question ought to be stated in the form of a simple resolution, with as much clearness and brevity as possible. The following are examples of well-worded questions:

RESOLVED, That the United States should subsidize her merchant marine.

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government should adopt a graduated income tax; constitutionality granted.

RESOLVED, That government regulation of so-called modern trusts is preferable to a law prohibiting the existence of such trusts.

There is no doubt as to what is meant in these questions. All technical phrases have been avoided, and the general principle behind the question has been made the point of contention.

With the question decided and carefully worded, the leaders draw cuts for choice of sides. Everything then is ready for actual work on the resolution. The two teams meet no more in joint conference. From now on the

contest is one of friendly rivalry, and every honorable resource to outwit and outgeneral the other side should be employed. Each team struggles not as three individuals but as one man.

Debaters have three sources of information. Magazine articles bearing on the subject should be read. All references in histories, encyclopedias, and other books must be given special attention. There should be personal conferences with well-informed persons, and correspondence with those known to be authorities on the subject.

Saving of time and conserving of energy are invaluable features. Hence, the work should be divided between the members of the team. To one the leader should assign the task of compiling a magazine reference list, or bibliography, as it is commonly called. To a second should be given the work of looking up book references. The third member should conduct the personal interviews and the correspondence. With duties thus shared by each, the work will move along methodically and rapidly, and no one will feel that he is carrying an unduly heavy burden.

The member who has the task of preparing the magazine reference list should go at once to the library and consult Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature." If he is not already familiar with the use of this book, he should ask the librarian to explain the way in which the articles are indexed, as an accurate knowledge of how to read the references is indispensable. Since 1900, Poole's "Index" has been supplemented by the "Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature." Both, however, have practically the same arrangement. The debater will find the indexes issued in volumes which cover one, five, and ten-year periods. Each

volume should be searched for references, except where it is evident that there is a duplication of years. Not all the references on a given subject are found under one heading. For example, in compiling a bibliography on the subject of Compulsory Insurance for Workingmen, it is advisable to look under such headings as "Insurance," "Industrial Insurance," "Workingmen's Insurance," "Employer's Liability," and similar topics. It is not always possible to think of the proper headings the first time a search is made for references, but the preliminary reading will acquaint the debater with the different phases of the subject, and he can then complete his reference list by looking under the new titles. Not a single reference should be ignored; it may be the most valuable one in the entire list.

Great care should be exercised in copying references. It will be found advisable to write each one on a separate card or slip of paper, giving name of magazine, volume, page, month, year, brief title, and author. Then, after the copying is completed, it will be a comparatively simple task to arrange the slips or cards according to the various magazines. The references to a given magazine should, in turn, be arranged in order—the lowest volume number coming first, and the rest following consecutively. Such disposition saves both time and confusion. It enables the debater to go to the magazine shelves and get his volumes in the order in which they are commonly arranged.

The member to whom has been assigned the book references should begin his work with the encyclopedias and similar works of reference. In the average library will be found such books as Bliss' "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," "The Statesmen's Year Book," and almanacs of various kinds. These books have recent statistics and

information upon current questions. The library card catalogue should be examined thoroughly, and every book of reference on the subject secured. Another source of information is the bibliographies issued by the Library of Congress. These bibliographies are reference lists of both magazines and books. They cover a great variety of subjects and the number is constantly being increased. The debater should be sure to learn whether there is such a bibliography upon the particular question he is studying. They are sent free to all libraries, and sold to individuals at a nominal charge.\*

While the magazine and book reference lists are being compiled, the remaining member of the team is conducting personal interviews. These interviews, as far as possible, should be with people who are well read in public affairs. High-school teachers can almost always direct the debater to men who are proper persons to be interviewed upon a given subject.

Directly following each interview, the debater should make careful and clear notes on the information gained. Care should be taken to learn why a man holds a certain opinion. The debater, if possible, must ascertain if there are political, religious, or social beliefs that influence the man's opinion. If such is found to be true, and he learns that a number of men are apparently directed by the same influence, an important fact has been discovered. It is more than likely that the majority of the audience, as well as the judges, will be influenced in the same manner. The debater should commence early to appeal to these opinions,

\* In Appendix B, page 222, will be found a list of subjects upon which Congressional bibliographies have been prepared. Still others are in the course of preparation.



or prepare skilfully to combat them, as the case may require. The deep-seated, almost unconscious, convictions which men get from political, religious, and social environments are strong factors in shaping their opinions upon public questions, and it will tax the ingenuity of any debater to appeal to, or circumvent, such opinions.

Personal letters to prominent authorities should not be forgotten. Many names can be secured as a result of the interviews. The written request should be brief, courteous, and specific. Always try to ask but one or two questions of one person, and make these questions clear and pointed. Prominent men are busy. They are constantly receiving similar inquiries, and, as a result, do not have either the time or inclination to answer long lists of questions. Many a debater has received but scant acknowledgment of his long and tiresome questions, when it is entirely probable that he would have received the information he desired, had he mailed a brief note, asking for facts on a given point. Do not neglect to enclose a stamped envelope in each letter sent out.

After two or three days of searching for references and conducting interviews, the debaters should meet for their first conference. It can not be too strongly emphasized that at all these meetings, personal ambitions and signs of superiority should be laid aside. The leader is naturally chairman of the gathering, yet if he be tactful, he will so conduct the meeting that his co-workers will not be made to feel their secondary positions.

At this time, the member who has had the work of collecting magazine references, should be able to furnish the other two with lists similar to his own. He should also give them such suggestions as he has secured, that are likely to save

time and work. The student in charge of the book references should do likewise. The third member should carefully explain the results of his conferences. He should read the notes he has made and later on, as the replies to his letters come in, he should be sure that the other members of the team see the answers immediately.

With each debater thus supplied with systematized reference lists, and a slight knowledge of the question, the work of gathering information is now begun in earnest. Before commencing his reading, each debater should supply himself with a loose-leaf note book, or a large number of blank cards of appropriate size, say 3 by 5 inches. Notes on articles should be taken freely. Anything which seems likely to be of use later on should be copied. Not more than one note should be put on one page or card, and the debater should never use both sides of the sheet. The reference to the article from which the quotation is taken should be put in full at the top of the card or sheet, and particular care should be taken to see that it is copied accurately.

When the debater finishes the reading of a given article, he should indicate on his reference list whether the article is general, affirmative, or negative. He can do this by using the symbols: "G," "A," and "N," respectively. If the reference is found to be an especially good one, and deserves a second reading, a small star should be placed alongside the letter which designates the character of the article. In a similar manner the notes taken should also be labelled. Work of this kind requires but little effort, and the consequent saving of time and confusion as the debate progresses is well worth while.

Each debater, of course, should read every available

article. There is nothing that so quickly gives an audience confidence in a speaker as to see that he has a comprehensive knowledge of his subject. On the other hand, there is nothing more disastrous than to have one speaker purposely avoid answering an argument. The practice sometimes permitted by coaches of allowing certain members of the team to read given articles is extremely hazardous and there is little, if any, excuse for it. In such a case it may easily happen that on the night of the contest a debater will be called upon to defend or oppose an issue upon which the other speakers have done the reading. Even though one of his colleagues later takes up the point in detail, it will not relieve the disappointment which the audience feels when the speaker avoids the issue.

Note should be made of questions which constantly arise. Appropriate retorts and replies should be written in detail while they are still fresh in the mind. To the debater, such answers seem to be inevitable retorts when he first thinks of them, and he is often tempted to believe that they can be easily remembered. With the rush of new ideas, however, old ones are apt to slip away. The only safe method is to use a note book. At the next meeting of the team these jottings should be brought forth and discussed. Answers to questions should be carefully thought out and appropriate replies to all issues prepared.

## CHAPTER III

### BRIEFING THE QUESTION

AS the work proceeds members of the team will find themselves in possession of an increasingly large amount of material. Manifestly there is more than can be used even by three speakers. Questions at once arise as to what material is desirable. What should be used? What eliminated? The ability to place true value upon a given argument is one of the important assets of a debater. While experience is doubtless the best teacher, there are certain methods which, if followed carefully, will be of assistance.

It is said of the great debater, Abraham Lincoln, that often after his opponent had finished, he would arise and in a sincere and straightforward manner give a better summing up of his opponent's position than that opponent himself had been able to do. Then Lincoln, with his unerring logic, would proceed to tear to pieces the argument of the opposition. Audiences applauded enthusiastically, and juries marvelled at the speaker's ability to answer, apparently upon a moment's notice, the well thought-out plans of his antagonist. Few people stopped to think that Lincoln had spent hours of quiet thought evaluating every argument for and against the topic he was to discuss; that he had analyzed in advance the points his opponents would present, and had made up his mind just how he would rebut every issue. What Lincoln did, every

successful lawyer does, every business man does, every debater must do.

One of the best ways to get firmly in mind the underlying points of discussion is to make an outline of the whole question. In debate there is a special kind of outline used. It is called a brief, and the work of preparing this outline is known as briefing the question. The task is one likely to be ignored or shunned by the novice, but it is by all odds the most important step in preparing for the debate. Without a clear outline a debater, no matter how good a speaker he may be or how great his knowledge of the question, can not make his points clear. It is no more reasonable for a debater to expect satisfactory results without briefing his question than for a farmer to drive his team into an unplowed field and, throwing the reins over the backs of the animals, let them drag the plough wherever they wish and expect a well-ploughed field. The appearance of the field and the student's debate would bear striking similarities. Order and system are cardinal doctrines of the debater. They are secured only by thorough briefing.

The outline, or brief, contains three distinct divisions: — an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. An explanation of the functions of each of these parts is here given because without an accurate understanding of the purpose of each, it is extremely difficult to prepare a practical brief.

The purpose of the introduction is to give a proper setting to the discussion which follows. It paves the way for the direct argument. As in a painting the artist strives to secure a proper background for the principal theme of his picture, so in debate

The Intro-  
duction

the opening speaker should put before the audience those things essential to a correct understanding of the question. He must give the argument its background.

Theoretically, an introduction should contain the definition of any doubtful term. It should give such facts in connection with the history of the question as seem essential to an intelligent understanding of the argument to be presented. It should set forth the main issues involved in the discussion. In actual debate, however, the theoretical form is not always realized. Often, if the opening speaker were to include all the phases commonly ascribed to the introduction, he would have no time left for the presentation of direct argument. It frequently happens that it is not good debating tactics to state too much at the beginning of the debate. In a recent inter-university contest on the "closed shop," it seemed probable that the affirmative's definition of what constituted a "closed shop" would be a point about which the attack of the opposition would center. The opening affirmative speaker in this instance found a distinct advantage in delaying his definition of what constituted a closed shop until his speech was nearly over. Theoretically, the definition should have been given at the beginning. Practically, it proved advisable to attempt to prejudice the audience with actual argument before the definition was given. It may be added that the tactics proved entirely successful. The opposition found to its dismay that it could not attack the definition without first tearing down the argument that preceded it. This they were unable to do.

Often it is not advisable to state too emphatically what the main points of contention are, since the opposition is likely to bring forth argument of a different character

than has been anticipated. The length of the introduction and the things included in it depend almost entirely upon the nature of the particular question that is being debated.

There is one general rule, however, which holds good. Nothing should be permitted in the introduction that cannot readily be admitted by both sides. Debaters sometimes imagine that by adroitly weaving biased testimony into the introduction they are subtly winning the judges to their side. To the average jury such deception is easily apparent and, as frequently happens, when the opposition calls attention to it, the result is disastrous.

The debater, then, needs to keep in mind that the object of the introduction is to prepare the audience for the real argument, and that, as a consequence, this part of the outline must necessarily be expository in nature rather than argumentative. Lastly, the debater can not be too strongly cautioned against attempting to include matter in the introduction which can not be freely admitted by both sides.

The second division is called the Body of the Brief. This part contains the argument. Its purpose is to present

**Body of the Brief** evidence for, or against, the proposition under discussion in such a way as to convince the audience that there is but one side to the question. An argument, it should be remembered, is not a mere affirmation or denial of a given question. Rather, it is a statement that under given conditions certain results are sure to follow, and the presentation of evidence to prove that the statement made is correct. The mere affirmation by a debater that a thing is true or untrue, is worthless. What the debater must do is to give proof that his statements are correct. Thus it is seen that in one respect, at least, the body of the brief is the antithesis of the introduction,

for whereas nothing should be incorporated in the introduction that can not consistently be admitted on both sides, the body should contain nothing that can be admitted by both sides.

In practically every question it will be found that there are a few basic arguments. These, by their very nature, include the smaller points. It is the task of the debater to divide the question into these major arguments, and group the minor ones logically under them. For example, it is often true that a proposition is feasible from a theoretical standpoint, but practically it is undesirable. Again, it may be open to grave dangers from the political point of view, or it may be economically unsound. Often the fundamental principles underlying a proposition are wrong. Each broad argument should be ferreted out and stated separately. One fundamental contention, well established, is worth a dozen objections that are only surface deep. Not the number, but the quality, of arguments counts. If a debater, in advocating the establishment of a United States Bank, for example, were to include in the body of his brief a statement that such a bank would give needed elasticity to our currency, and then give evidence to prove his contention, it would be a strong argument in his favor, for it is recognized that a serious defect in the currency system is its inelasticity. On the other hand, should the opposition be able to show that the proposed institution would be a political menace, that side would have scored an equally important point, for here, again, every one realizes the disaster which would result were so powerful an institution as a United States Bank to become a mere political foot-



ball. Such arguments are the bone and sinew of the debate.

A good method of ascertaining whether or not one has a mere statement or a real argument, is to see that the major argument is in the form of a direct and complete statement. The minor point, also, should be in the form of complete statements and should go directly to support the contention made in the major argument. In order to avoid confusion and to assist in an orderly arrangement of all arguments, symbols are commonly used to designate the various parts of the brief. The Roman number "I" sets off the first major argument. The capital letter "A" denotes the first sub-argument under "I." The Arabic figure "1" is employed to designate the first argument under "A," and so until all the sub-arguments have been included. The number of sub-arguments will vary with the different questions, though they seldom run to more than four or five. A complete set of symbols would be as follows:

Symbols  
Used

I.

A.

1.

a.

(1).

(a).

In considering the divisions of a brief, only what may be called positive argument has been discussed. A positive argument is one that directly upholds the side of the question for which the debater is contending. Most briefs, however, contain another kind of

Refutation

argument; it is known as refutation. Its purpose is to refute or tear down an argument of the opposition. So important is the element of refutation that each speaker is allowed special time for rebuttal. In every well-organized debate, however, there is more or less refutation found in the body of the brief.

It is evident that when refutation is placed in the brief it must be used with considerable skill. The embarrassment would be obvious, were a debater, in the main part of his speech, to refute a point that the opposition had not presented at all. It takes a close, critical study of arguments for and against any proposition to be sure of what the opposition is likely to advance.

There are two ways of including refutation in the body of the brief. One is to admit that the argument is an important issue of the debate. For example, a debater in advocating the establishment of a United States Bank would soon find that one of the chief objections is the argument that the proposed institution would become involved in politics, as did the first and second United States Banks many years ago. The debater faces the problem of showing that the institution which he advocates would avoid such difficulties. To do this it would be necessary for him to state, as his major contention, the negative of the objection raised by the opposition. This might be done substantially as follows:

- I. The argument that a United States Bank would become involved in politics is not valid, for,
  - A. The proposed bank would avoid the weaknesses in organization that dragged the first and second United States Banks into politics, for,

1. It would not have private individuals as stockholders, for,
    - a. Stock would be held by the national banks of the country.
  2. It would not be necessary to secure a renewal of its charter every twenty years, as was the case with the first and second United States Banks, for,
    - a. The charter given the proposed bank would be permanent, and revocable only for cause.
- B. The American people at the present time would not permit a bank to be made a political issue, for,
1. Banking problems in general are unhesitatingly turned over to the Federal Government.
    - a. Our present national banking system is controlled entirely by the Federal Government.
    - b. Our present sub-treasury system is clearly under Federal jurisdiction, yet neither of those are involved in politics.

The other method of including refutation in a brief is to change an argument that is commonly thought to be refutation, into a direct, positive contention. This form of refutation is probably as difficult as any piece of work in the field of debate. To accomplish it successfully requires much time and thought, but when once done its effectiveness well repays the effort.

In a recent inter-university debate on the commission form of city government, the affirmative team was continually confronted with the argument that commission government failed to provide a separate council, as do the other systems of municipal organization. Each attempt to explain why a separate council was not necessary under the proposed form of government seemed to put the affirmative hopelessly on the defensive, until finally one of the debaters conceived the plan of calling the five men who would have charge of the government under the proposed plan, a "commission council."

The affirmative's argument relative to the council was immediately changed from defensive refutation to positive contention in favor of the proposed plan. On the evening of the contest the negative was much surprised to have their opponents advance as one of the chief advantages of commission government the fact that it provided for a "commission council"—a particular kind of council which was peculiarly well fitted for American cities. The scheme was entirely successful. Not only did the affirmative escape the burden of explaining why the commission plan failed to meet the requirements of a well-rounded form of government, but they fairly forced the negative to defend the existing councils as compared with the so-called "commission council." In other words, they had taken an argument which in the beginning was clearly refutation, and made it a direct, positive contention.

The conclusion, at the end of each speech is, in fact, little more than a summary of the points. As a rule, it should include only the statement of the general contentions presented. These should be given as nearly as possible in the same language as in the

The Con-  
clusion

body of the debate. The importance of the conclusion is that it brings in rapid review before the judges the whole outline of the debate. It fixes more clearly in mind the various arguments. Its effectiveness, however, is greatly impaired when the conclusion is long drawn out, or made to cover points that have not been entirely proved.

Now that some of the more important phases of the brief have been explained, it may be well to brief a question somewhat in detail. Let it be assumed that the resolution upon which the six debaters have been gathering material has to do with the conservation of the natural resources of the country, and that the particular issue is whether or not the work of conserving the resources should be carried on by the various State governments, or by the Federal Government. The question is stated: **RESOLVED**, That the power of the Federal Government should be paramount to that of the States in the conservation of natural resources, limited to forests, water-power, and minerals.

If the note-taking has been done in accordance with the suggestions given in the first part of this chapter, it will be seen that the material gathered under the heading "General" bears a striking resemblance to the matter that is to form the introduction of the brief, and that the affirmative and negative material has already been separated. No matter which side of the question has been chosen, each team should always make a complete brief of both sides of the question.

Looking through the "General" information gathered by the debaters, one is very apt to find such facts as these:

That when the Federal Government was first organized all public lands were turned over to it.

That the principle of regulating such lands in the interest of the public rather than of one State or section of the country was early adopted.

That the Federal Government has always held more or less power as to protection and conservation, but it has not always seen fit to exercise that power.

That the State governments also have exercised power over the natural resources within their borders.

That at times there is much discussion as to whether the power should be exercised by the Federal Government or by the State Government.\*

The next task is selecting the points to be used by the affirmative. The important thing is to pick out the salient arguments—those that strike at the very heart of the question. One point that ought to suggest itself at once as being of importance is whether or not the policy of conservation is one that properly belongs to the Federal Government. Another of equal weight is whether or not the States could successfully conserve the resources, even though they were given paramount power. The probable future development of the natural resources is also a matter of extreme importance in this question. If the future development is to be carried on by individuals, as in the past, one problem is presented; whereas, if it is to be carried on by large corporations, the problem will be entirely different. If Federal control is practical, that point should be strongly emphasized. It would be well also to include as refutation the principal objection which is likely to be urged against the affirmative. The objection in this case is apt to be that to give the Federal Government paramount power would be an unwarranted

\* These points arranged in outline form are found on page 65.

usurpation of Federal authority and would be distinctly socialistic in its nature.\*

In much the same manner the negative case should be outlined. Reasons why the Federal Government should not take control should be grouped under some one general heading. The injustice of such a measure can be advantageously emphasized. If it can be shown that the plan is likely to have unfavorable results, that argument should also be used. Finally, the negative would do well to show that conditions at the present time are satisfactory, and that the States are working out the problem in a very commendable manner.†

The points given above can serve merely as a model. It seems unnecessary to add that each team must work out its own brief. But it is believed that if the foregoing principles are studied carefully they will give an idea of the kind of matter that ought to appear in the brief; and the brief gives an idea of the proper form in which to state the various arguments.

\* These points arranged in outline form are found on page 66.

† These points arranged in outline form are found on page 72.

## CHAPTER IV

### PREPARING THE SPEECH

**I**T is the opinion of some authorities that when a debater has made a thorough study of his question, he has done all that is advisable until the time of the contest. Although such preparation may be sufficient for an experienced speaker, any attempt to debate directly from the brief can result only in disaster for the beginner. It is necessary that the debater know definitely what he is going to say.

Writing the Debate  
Either the leader of the team or the coach should assign to each speaker a certain portion of the brief. From this part of the brief, the debater writes his speech. The speech should contain no points or arguments that are not found in the brief, for the brief is the framework around which the speech is built, and the purpose of making the brief is to get clearly in the debater's mind each argument which he is to present.

The debate should be written and rewritten until each point stands out clearly by itself. The debater should remember that his audience is not as familiar with the question as he himself is, and consequently he must make every step of his reasoning absolutely lucid. To accomplish this the language must be simple, the sentences short, and long words and technical phrases carefully avoided.

As soon as the speech has received its final revision, it



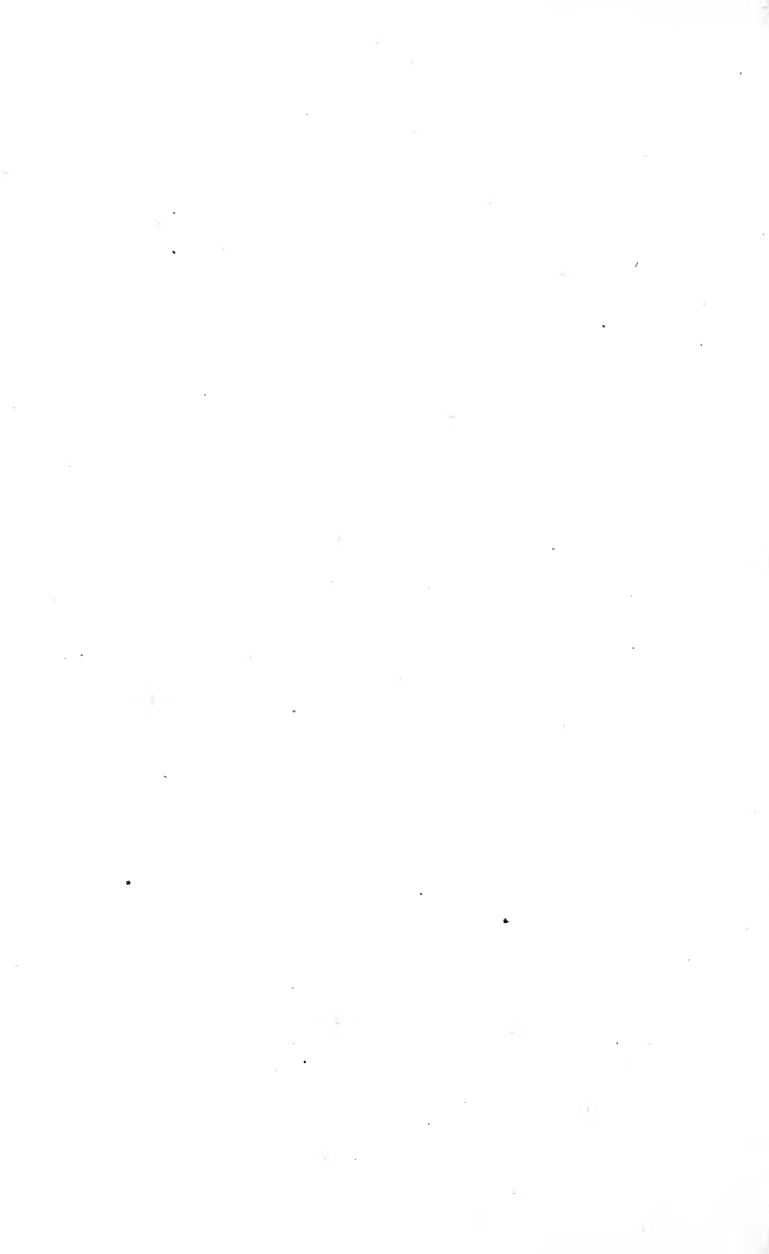
should be committed word for word. Here, again, authorities are at variance. Some insist that a debate should never be memorized *verbatim*; but the person unused to appearing before audiences will find it a distinct advantage to know exactly the words in which he is to express his thoughts. If he has done his work conscientiously, prepared his own brief, and written his own speech, the debater need have no fear that he will appear mechanical or overtrained simply because he has committed his speech. The intensity of the work he has done, and his eagerness to present his side of the argument, should be sufficient to put spontaneity and life into every word he utters.

The debater will find it advisable to prepare and commit many rebuttal arguments. Each point that the opposition is likely to advance should be answered in detail before the debate comes off. It may be that the particular way in which the opposition presents its contention will make it necessary for the debater to change the wording of his rebuttal; but the very fact that he has previously thought out an answer to each argument and put it into definite words will, at the time of the contest, add greatly to the fluency and effectiveness with which he refutes the points.

Much of the success of the debater depends on the manner of delivery. A debate is different from either an oration or a declamation. As suggested before, the prime object of a debate is to convince. Hence, the speaker should attempt to persuade his audience that he is correct in much the same way that he would try to convince a friend of the right or wrong of any question. It will be found advantageous to select certain ones in the audience,

generally the judges, and talk directly to them. Speak with clearness, and loud enough to be heard in every part of the room, but never become boisterous or undignified. Each argument should be presented with the utmost sincerity, and never for a moment should the speaker forget that the one purpose of debate is to convince.

## **BRIEFS**



# BRIEFS

## AGE PENSIONS

RESOLVED, That a system of old-age pensions should be established in the United States.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The question of what to do with the poor and aged members of society has always been a matter of importance.
- II. Especially since the coming of the industrial revolution, with its consequent "wearing out" of men while they are yet but middle-aged in point of years, has the question been assuming larger and larger proportions.
- III. In many industries men who are over fifty years old are refused employment.
- IV. The theory is often advanced that society, that is, the various governments, should adequately provide for such members of society as are too old to earn a living for themselves.
- V. Some countries, including Australia, Denmark, France, Germany, and New Zealand, have systems of old-age pensions for such members.
- VI. The question is being more and more discussed as to whether or not some system of old-age pensions would be desirable in the United States.

## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Old-age pensions are just; for,—
  - A. The recipient of the pension has spent his life working for his country; for,—
    - 1. He has been available for military service.
    - 2. He has been a contributor to its revenues.
    - 3. He has been a producer of its economic greatness.
    - 4. He has played his part in adding to the country's national prosperity.
- II. Old-age pensions come properly within the field of governmental activities; for,—
  - A. Poverty is legitimately a national problem; for,—
    - 1. It is national-wide in its extent.
    - 2. Its causes are common to the whole nation.
    - 3. Its effects apply equally to all parts of the nation.
  - B. It is the duty of every government to see that its subjects are relieved from suffering and poverty.
  - C. The Government already provides pensions for soldiers, for those who perform heroic deeds, for Government employees in certain cases.
- III. Old-age pensions would benefit the Government; for,—
  - A. They would tend to diminish crime; for,—
    - 1. The necessities of poverty would no longer make criminals of men who in their younger days were honest, law-abiding citizens.
  - B. It would greatly reduce the cost of maintaining alms-houses; for,—
    - 1. A large percentage of the pauperism would be eliminated by the pension system.

2. Persons would not care to live in almshouses when, by means of a pension, they would be enabled to reside as self-respecting citizens.

IV. Old-age pensions would be a great incentive to good citizenship; for,—

- A. If workmen knew that pensions would be given only to sober, industrious persons, they would be extremely careful not to violate any of the requirements for a pension.
- B. It would permit each workman to live a well-rounded life. He would know that, if he gave his best efforts to society, society, in turn, would reward him in his old age.
- C. It would make many who now live in hopelessness and despair make an honest endeavor to labor; for,—
  1. They would be anxious to share in the benefits that society had provided.

V. Old-age pensions are practical; for,—

- A. They have proved successful in Denmark.
- B. They have alleviated the condition of the poor in Australia.
- C. They have strengthened the industrial system of Germany.
- D. They are proving of untold benefit in New Zealand.

VI. One of three plans could be adopted for old-age pensions in the United States:

- A. The Government could pay the pensions direct from the national revenues.
- B. The Government could hold back a certain per

cent of the employee's wages during the active years of his service, and then pay it to him when he grows old.

- C. The Government could devise a plan for collecting the pension from the employers whom the person had served.

### NEGATIVE

- I. Old-age pensions are indefensible from a sociological point of view; for,—

- A. They encourage shiftlessness and imprudence; for,—

1. They assure each individual that he will be provided for in his old age.

- B. They put a premium on spending; for,—

2. A man will not save his earnings, if he knows that some one will provide for him when his money is gone.

- C. They weaken individual responsibility; for,—

1. Under the proposed plan all responsibility for maintenance is shifted to the State.

- D. They demoralize attempts to make dependents work for the assistance that they receive from the State; for,—

1. Inmates would flock from the workhouses and apply for pensions.

- E. They destroy the effective work now being done by private insurance and fraternal organizations; for,—

1. The proposed plan would take away all incentive for such societies to exist.



II. Old-age pensions are indefensible from a political standpoint, for—

A. They are distinctly socialistic in their nature; for,—

1. They are founded upon the belief that the Government ought to aid the individual financially.

B. They would open the way to increased fraud and corruption in our pension department; for,—

1. Bribes would be constantly offered to officials by persons wishing to secure pensions, just as now we unearth pension frauds every year.

C. They would encourage conniving politicians to work for large pension appropriations in order to catch the votes of the shiftless.

D. They are distinctly at variance with the spirit of American government, namely, that each person should earn the salary that he is paid.

III. Old-age pensions are indefensible from a practical standpoint, for,—

A. There is no need of such grants being made in the United States; for,—

1. There is an abundance of work for every one.

2. There is adequate provision now made for paupers and dependents.

3. There are remarkable opportunities for persons to make provision for their old age.

B. Such grants would demoralize industry; for,—

1. They would tend to make workmen careless and inefficient; for,—

- a. Employees would live only for the present day, and take no thought of the future.

C. Such grants would destroy the home life of the workman; for,—

1. There would be no endeavor on the part of the workman to provide a home for himself; for,—

- a. He would depend upon the Government for aid.

IV. No practical system of old-age pensions can be devised; for,—

A. To make Government pay the pensions would be unwise; for,—

1. It would greatly increase the rate of taxation.
2. It would take an army of men to perform the work.
3. It would be turning over to the Government, functions that by their very nature should, if performed at all, be done by private parties.

B. To assess the individual income of each workman would not be feasible; for,—

1. It would be an unwarranted interference with his personal liberty.
2. Each person ought to be permitted to expend or invest his earnings as he sees fit.

C. To assess former employers would be unjust; for,—

1. They have already paid the workman for his services.

2. They are not to blame because the dependent has not been frugal and saving.
3. No just means of apportionment between the various employers could be devised.

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## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

RESOLVED, That capital punishment should be abolished in the United States.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. There is at the present time considerable sentiment in the United States in favor of the total abolition of capital punishment.
- II. The number of offences punishable by death is continually decreasing.
- III. Certain foreign countries, and some of the commonwealths of the United States, have already passed laws prohibiting this form of punishment.
- IV. The question at issue is, Ought this prohibition be extended to every State in the Union?

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Capital punishment is unnecessary; for,—
  - A. The ends of justice may be secured by imprisonment; for,—
    1. Society is adequately protected by the incarceration of the offender.
  - B. Life imprisonment is more feared by criminals than death itself; for,—
    1. It often inflicts greater suffering upon the victim.



II. Capital punishment has evil effects upon the community; for,—

A. It diminishes the sacredness in which human life is, held, for,—

1. If the State claims that it is justified in killing those of its citizens who commit given offences, then individuals feel that they are vindicated for taking life under similar circumstances.

B. It tends to lower the moral sense of the public; for,—

1. Capital punishment is usually accompanied by nauseating publicity.
2. Capital punishment is frequently accompanied by actual cruelty.

C. It often leads to such public sympathy that the ends of justice are thwarted; for,—

1. Many juries would rather acquit a man than sentence him to death.

III. Capital punishment is unsound sociologically; for,—

A. It does not try to reform the prisoner; for,—

1. Death usually follows closely upon conviction.

B. It arouses the worst passions in men; for,—

1. It is nothing more than the survival of the old Mosaic law — an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

IV. Capital punishment is not practical; for,—

A. It has signally failed to check crime; for,—

1. Statistics show that in those States and countries where capital punishment is in force, crime is on the increase.

- V. Reformatory methods should replace capital punishment; for,—
- A. Such methods are sound sociologically.
  - B. Such methods are more humane.
  - C. Such methods actually decrease crime.

### NEGATIVE

- I. Capital punishment is desirable from the standpoint of society; for,—
- A. It insures a speedy and effective remedy in those cases where grave crimes are committed against the State.
  - B. It is the only real preventive of crime; for,—
    - 1. In those States and countries where capital punishment has been abolished crime has greatly increased.
  - C. It is more economical; for,—
    - 1. It saves the enormous expense of guarding and housing many prisoners.
  - D. It prevents hardened criminals from being again permitted to prey on communities.
- II. Capital punishment is desirable from the standpoint of the criminals themselves; for,—
- A. Its severity acts as a deterrent of crime; for,—
    - 1. If a person knows he will be killed if he commits a murder, he is more likely to keep his passions under control than he would be if he would be only imprisoned, with the possibility of pardon later on.
  - B. It is more humane than life imprisonment; for,—
    - 1. It disposes of the criminal simply and quickly.

III. The objections urged against capital punishment are not valid; for,—

A. The lives of innocent persons are rarely taken; for,—

1. Courts do not inflict death penalty unless the evidence is conclusive.

B. Capital punishment is used only for the most severe crimes; for,—

1. Imprisonment is sufficient for minor crimes.

C. The State must be severe, if it is to maintain law and order; for,—

1. A laxity of law enforcement or lenient regulations would result in a great increase in crime; perhaps in anarchy.

2. It is the business of the State to protect its citizens, no matter how severe a penalty is necessary.

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## CENTRAL BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government should establish a central bank of the United States.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Certain evils characterize the present banking system of the United States. Among them may be noted:
  - A. The inelasticity of the system.
  - B. The lack of coöperation among banks.
  - C. The defective plan of bank reserves.
  - D. The cumbersome, independent treasury system.
- II. The question at issue is whether or not a central bank of the United States would remedy these evils without subjecting the financial system of the country to still other evils of a serious character.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. A central bank would remedy the defects of the present system; for,—
  - A. It would give an element of elasticity to bank reserves; for,—
    - 1. The reserves could be conveniently massed in the central bank and loaned out to those sections of the country needing money.

B. It would fortify the present system of independent banks; for,—

1. A central bank would have the combined strength of the independent banks of the country.
2. A central bank would have the credit of the Federal Government back of it.

C. It would take the place of the present unwieldy and unscientific sub-treasury system.

D. It would coöperate with independent banks to check abnormal interest rates and to prevent over-expansion of credit.

II. A central bank would be a fitting cap-stone for the present system of independent banks; for,—

A. It would be built upon the framework of the present banks; for,—

1. The national banks, for example, might be the stockholders in the new institution.

B. It would unify the present system of competitive banking; for,—

1. As stockholders, the national banks would be interested in the welfare of the central institution.

III. The experience of foreign countries shows that a central bank is practical; for, —

A. Central banks have met with marked success in England, France, Germany, and Japan.

IV. A central bank would provide more efficient monetary supervision; for,—

- A. Federal officials would constantly inspect it.
- B. The independent banks as stockholders would be eager to see that it was properly conducted.

- C. It would control the discount rate, and thereby fortify the country's gold supply.
- V. A central bank would greatly strengthen public confidence; for,—
  - A. It would have the combined resources of the independent banks and of the Federal Government behind it.
  - B. It would come to the aid of distressed banks at the proper time.
  - C. It would contract loans as well as expand them.

### NEGATIVE

- I. There is a fundamental distinction between the banking problem in the United States and the banking problem in European countries; for,—
  - A. In the United States the task is to check the outflow of capital, while in foreign countries it is to induce an inflow of capital.
- II. The United States is too large for the successful operation of a central bank, for,—
  - A. The extent of its territory is too great.
  - B. The diversity of its sectional interests is too pronounced.
- III. To have Congressional control over a central bank would be extremely unwise; for,—
  - A. Any new political party coming into power could completely alter the original idea of the bank.
  - B. There would be a great temptation for the bank to seek Congressional favor.
    - 1. This is exactly what happened with the Second United States Bank.



IV. A central bank would easily result in a powerful financial monopoly; for,—

A. The moneyed interests of the country would soon control it.

V. A central bank could not operate successfully in the United States; for,—

A. The independent banks would be opposed to it; for,—

1. It would necessarily have to compete with them; for,—

a. It would mean the withdrawal of public deposits from independent banks.

2. It would inevitably create bitterness between the independent banks and the Federal Government; for,—

a. Independent banks would want the Federal deposits.

VI. A central bank is unnecessary; for,—

A. The evils of the present banking system can be easily remedied by altering the system slightly.

1. Some system of asset currency, such, for example, as Canada now has, might be used successfully.

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## COMMISSION FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

RESOLVED, That the commission form of city government should be adopted by American cities.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. That the general results of the council plan of city government are not satisfactory, is seen in the many changes that are being made in municipal charters.
  - A. New York, as early as 1830, attempted to move away from the plan of ward representation. It passed an act which provided that "the executive business of the corporation of New York shall be hereafter performed by distinct departments."
  - B. The city of Des Moines abandoned the "old" council plan of ward representation and a separate city council in an election on June 20, 1907.
- II. The characteristic features of the plans of government to be considered in the discussion are these:
  - A. The council form of government in vogue in most American cities provides that:
    1. The city be divided into small geographical divisions called wards. From each ward a single representative, called an alderman, is elected.

2. The city council be composed of the aldermen, and a mayor, who is elected at large.
  3. The mayor be the only member of the council who receives a regular salary.
  4. There be a separation of the legislative and administrative functions of government. The council legislates. The mayor, or men under him, administer.
- B. The commission form provides that:
1. The commission be (usually) made up of five men: an executive, who is called the mayor-president, and four commissioners, or councilmen.
  2. The commissioners devote all their time to carrying on the business of the city.
  3. The commissioners shall receive regular salaries for their services.
  4. The commissioners are elected at large on a non-partisan ballot.
  5. The commissioners both legislate and administer.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The commission form gives responsibility; for,—
  - A. Each commissioner is placed at the head of and made responsible for some one department of government.
  - B. Subordinate officers are made directly responsible to their superiors. Authority for each department is centralized in the head thereof.

- II. The commission form does away with useless boards and committees; for,—
  - A. The commissioners themselves attend to work that was formerly done by committees.
- III. The commission form secures administrative efficiency; for,—
  - A. It assumes that the city is an administrative unit.
  - B. It simplifies the work of administration; for,—
    - 1. It takes the full time of a few men, instead of a little time from many men.
    - 2. It does away with the cumbersome system of initiating legislation by one body, and executing that legislation by another body.
- IV. The commission form is superior from a legislative standpoint; for,—
  - A. The same men legislate that administer.
  - B. They are intimately acquainted with the needs of each department.
  - C. They can easily be held accountable for every legislative act passed.
- V. The commission form is more democratic; for,—
  - A. The commissioners represent the choice of the majority of the voting electorate; for,—
    - 1. They are elected by a vote of the whole city; not just one ward.
- VI. The simplicity of the commission form is desirable; for,—
  - A. It induces good men to take office.
  - B. It makes it comparatively easy for the voters to discover cases of inefficiency and graft.

VII. Experience has amply demonstrated the effectiveness of the commission form; for,—

- A. It has proved successful in such cities as Galveston, Houston, Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, and many others.

### NEGATIVE

I. The commission form is un-American; for,—

- A. It violates a fundamental precept of the present form of American government; namely, the separation of governmental machinery into legislative, administrative, and judicial divisions.

II. The commission form is unsuited to the needs of a large city; for,—

- A. It does not provide for efficient legislation; for,—
  - .1. A few commissioners elected at large cannot possibly know the needs of a great metropolis.

X III. The commission form makes no provision for checks and balances in government; for,—

- A. The one body, the commissioners, carry on all the work — legislative, executive, and judicial.

X IV. The commission form is fundamentally defective; for,—

- A. Good men can not be induced to give all their time to the work of governing a city; for,—
  - 1. It would be necessary for them to sacrifice their private business.
- B. The plan provides for no responsibility in legislative matters; for,—



1. One commissioner can lay the blame on another for failure to pass measures.
- C. The commissioners are subject to the whims of popular control, instead of the right or wrong of their own judgment; for,—
  1. They are likely to be recalled, if they do not obey the popular cry.
- D. The political boss has a greater opportunity than ever to bring about corruption and graft in the city affairs; for,—
  1. His operations are confined only to three or four men.
- V. The commission form is unnecessary; for,—
  - A. The results claimed for it can easily be secured by altering the present plan; for,—
    1. Non-partisan elections can be secured.
    2. Ward representation can be eliminated.
    3. Responsibility for administration can be centred in the hands of the mayor.
    4. Responsibility for legislation can be centred in the hands of the council.

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## CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

RESOLVED, That the power of the Federal Government should be paramount to that of the States in the conservation of natural resources, limited to forests, water-power, and minerals.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. When the Nation was formed, all public lands owned by the several colonies were turned over to the Federal Government.
- II. According to the principles laid down in the Ordinance of 1787, the public lands were to be regulated in the interests, not of the people of one State or section, but of all the people of the entire Nation.
- III. Although the power to protect and conserve natural resources when the national welfare demands it has always belonged to the Federal Government, that power has not always been exerted; for,—
  - A. It is not the duty of the Federal Government to exert a power until the need to do so becomes apparent.
- IV. When the necessity of conserving natural resources became apparent, the Federal Government reserved certain areas within the public domain, that the

development of the resources therein might be so regulated that there would be neither waste nor over-production, nor an unequal distribution of the wealth created.

V. To this policy of the Federal Government many persons have objected. The majority of those who opposed Federal control have been inhabitants of the States in which the areas lie. The objections have been urged; for,—

A. Many believe that under the present dual form of government conservation is properly a function of the States.

B. Many believe that the work can be done better by the States.

VI. The question for debate then becomes: Should resources such as have been reserved from entry be retained by the Federal Government, and their development be regulated by the Federal Government, or should they be turned over to the States in which they lie, and be developed as the various States see fit.

### AFFIRMATIVE

I. The conservation of these resources is properly a function of the central government; for,—

A. It is a work that will affect every person in the nation; for,—

1. Some of the resources, such as water-power and phosphate, are to a large degree limited to the specified areas.

2. All other resources are in private hands, and even though conserved, only those (a

comparatively few wealthy people) who own them will receive the benefits.

3. India and China, once wealthy and prosperous, are to-day suffering with hunger and cold because their resources were not conserved. The same is true to a lesser extent of many other nations.

B. Though conservation will have an important effect upon the political and social welfare of the nation, it is not in itself a political or social problem; for,—

1. Conservation means simply investigating, experimenting, and administering — regulating the development of the public lands, that resources used may be put to the very best use, and that only resources for which there is an actual need may be developed, the rest being conserved for future generations. It is with this end in view that Federal officials are working at the present time.
2. This is not a work that will rob the people of any of their inherent rights or that will materially change their habits, customs, or relations with each other.
3. It is essentially a work of administering and regulating. It is a work the purpose of which is to guarantee to all the people a reasonable share of the natural resources. It is the very kind of work for which central governments are established.

C. It is a principle of the Federal Government that

when a work of regulating and administering is of such scope as to affect the people of more than one State, it shall be carried on by the central government rather than by the State governments. For example:

1. The carrying of mail, the building the Panama Canal, the irrigating of the West, and similar projects are performed by the Federal Government.

II. The resources will not be properly conserved if put into the hands of the inhabitants of the Western States in which they lie; for,—

A. The welfare of these people demands that the resources be not conserved; for,—

1. The immediate interest of any people is to accumulate wealth.
2. A rapid and wasteful development such as has gone on in the past will most quickly make these States rich.
3. Conservation will put a stop to the wasteful methods that most quickly create wealth.

B. It is because the people of the Western States do not want conservation that they object to Federal regulation; for,—

1. Their principal objection is that areas are shut up so that the resources therein cannot be used as the people see fit.

C. It is universally true that when persons possess a large amount of resources or other material goods, they cannot properly appreciate their value.



III. The resources still within the public domain are largely of such nature that they must be developed by powerful corporations.

A. The work of developing the forests, mineral lands, and water-power of the mountainous Western States will be mostly done by corporations; for,—

1. To construct reservoirs and power-plants and to carry electricity to the places needed requires a great deal of capital.
2. Similarly, to work a mine or use the products of a mountain forest profitably and yet not wastefully, demands that the work be conducted on a large scale.

IV. In practically every instance the corporations that are fitted to develop the natural resources will do an interstate business, for the whole nation will have need of their products. Corporations doing an interstate business can be controlled better by the Federal Government than by the State governments; for,—

1. State laws do not have the force that Federal laws do, and consequently are much less apt to be obeyed.
  - a. State laws, representing the will of fewer people, are not backed up by public opinion to the extent that Federal laws are.
  - b. People take less interest in the work of the State Legislature than in what is done in Congress, and make less effort to enforce State laws; for,—
    - (1) Most affairs that directly

affect the citizens' daily welfare are looked after through county, town, and township organizations.

2. Powerful corporations can easily corrupt State Legislatures and thus obtain special privileges; for,—

a. It is easy to have men elected who will favor them, for the people are willing to elect almost any one who desires to go to a State Legislature.

b. A dishonest and shrewd representative of the corporation can exert a great influence over the average member of a State Legislature.

3. Even if all officials were honest, the States working separately could not control powerful interstate corporations; for,—

a. The corporations are incorporated in some State such as New Jersey, whose laws are very liberal. It is then impossible for other States to control, effectually, within their own borders, the actions of such corporations.

b. The lack of uniformity that would come with State control would make it impossible to enforce all the conflicting laws, which would leave the corporations to do about as they please.

c. The corporations know that State control of conservation would

practically mean no control, for which reason they are heartily in favor of it.

V. Federal regulation is the more practicable plan; for,—

A. Only those resources which affect the welfare of the whole nation are to be conserved by the Federal Government as a permanent public domain.

B. The work of regulating and protecting can best be done by Federal officials; for,—

1. Officials in charge will be of a higher quality; for,—

a. Fewer of them will be needed.

b. The Federal Government will select the best in the nation, rather than the best in some one State.

2. Work can be carried on with greater efficiency; for,—

a. There will be better organization.

b. Greater facilities for investigating and experimenting will be afforded.

c. The department in charge can benefit by what is learned in all the other Federal departments.

3. Work will be more economically carried on.

a. Repetition will be eliminated.

b. Better organization will mean stricter accounting.

c. Supplies can be bought in large quantities.

4. Each State will be directly benefited by everything learned in all the other States.
5. Federal control will mean uniformity and efficiency; not the confusion and inefficiency characteristic of many State laws.

VI. The argument that Federal conservation means socialism or centralization is not valid; for,—

- A. Only a limited area is to be retained by the government.
- B. The duty of government officials will be simply to protect, and to regulate the manner of development.
- C. All those functions which properly belong to the States will be left with the States and carried out by State officials.
- D. The government will act simply as an owner, and regulate the methods of using resources which belong to all the people.

#### NEGATIVE

I. The Federal Government is not the proper body to conserve natural resources; for,—

- A. The central government cannot know local conditions as well as the State governments; for,—
  1. It is not familiar with local conditions.
  2. It does not have persons on the ground.
  3. It could be informed only through haphazard reports of committees or annual statements of inspectors.
- B. The central government would not have the interest in conservation that State governments would; for,—

1. Conservation to the central government would mean only an added burden, but to the State government conservation is a matter of vital concern; for,—

- a. The States' citizens are owners of the resources.

- b. The occupation of a large number of the States' citizens depends upon the proper development of the resources.

- C. The work of conservation falls rightly within the sphere of State activities; for,—

1. The natural resources would naturally become the property of citizens of the State.

2. They would give employment to her citizens.

3. They would form a vital part of the life of the State.

- II. Federal conservation would be manifestly unjust; for,—

- A. It would be an inexcusable usurpation of the rights of the States; for,—

1. The various States are now conducting their policies of conservation satisfactorily.

- B. It would deprive the States of a very important source of revenue; for,—

1. It would turn over to Federal control the most valuable resources in the State.

- III. Federal conservation would result in graft and corruption; for,—

- A. Federal methods are extravagant and wasteful.

1. The post-office department generally has

an annual deficit when it should be a money-making department.

B. Congress would give undue concessions to individuals and corporations; for,—

1. Congress would be seeking political favors.
2. Political bosses would control appointments to office.

C. All control would center in the Federal Government, and as a result it would be much simpler to bribe officials than where control is divided among a number of State governments.

1. Conditions in Alaskan coal fields and forests are good examples.
2. Irrigation and land frauds among Federal officials are being constantly unearthed.

IV. Federal conservation would be both paternalistic and socialistic; for,—

A. It would tend to give the corporate wealth of the country control over vast concessions.

B. It would be a direct step toward socialism; for,—

1. Government ownership of railroads, telegraph lines, etc., would be the next logical step. This step would, in fact, be necessary before national conservation could be made practical.

C. It would tend to transfer ownership from individuals to corporations.

D. It would be essentially un-American both in spirit and operation.

V. Federal conservation is not necessary; for,—

A. Each State is now working out its own problems along the most advantageous lines; for,—

1. The citizens of the various States are realizing the importance of plans for successful conservation.
- B. There are no great frauds in State conservations; for,—
  1. The operations of the State governments are so simple and so close to the people that corruption and inefficiency are easily detected.
- C. There is no demand on the part of the American people for Federal conservation; for,—
  1. Most citizens are satisfied with the progress that the various States are making in the matter.

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## FEDERAL VS. STATE RIGHTS

RESOLVED, That the present arrangement of power between the Federal and State governments is not adapted to modern conditions, and calls for readjustment in the direction of further centralization.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. From the days when the constitutional convention met to organize our present form of government, down to the present time, there has always been a question as to how much power should be given to the Federal Government, and how much should be given to the various State governments.
- II. Some of the most prolonged and bitter fights in our national history have been controversies over the rights of the States.
- III. The question has been given unusual emphasis in the last few years because of the new and important issues that have come up for solution.
- IV. The point at issue is whether as a nation it is advisable to move in the direction of placing added powers and duties in the hands of our central government, or whether these powers and duties should be assumed by the governments of the several States.

## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Further centralization would be in harmony with the evolution of bicameral governments in general; for,—
  - A. The history of bicameral organizations shows a distinct tendency to give increased power to the central government.
    - 1. This is manifestly true of the German Empire.
    - 2. It is true also of France.
    - 3. Switzerland is an example in hand.
- II. Such a step would be in harmony with the evolution of government in the United States; for,—
  - A. The changes have constantly tended toward the granting of more power to the Federal Government; for,—
    - 1. From the very beginning of the government, whenever an issue has become national in scope, it has been placed in the hands of the central government.
      - a. Control of finances.
      - b. Control of slavery.
      - c. Control of railroads.
- III. The State governments are inefficient; for,—
  - A. They cannot successfully cope with many present-day problems which confront them, such as
    - 1. Adequate marriage and divorce laws.
    - 2. Regulation of large corporations.
    - 3. Conservation of natural resources.
    - 4. Uniform income and inheritance taxes.
    - 5. Settlement of disputes between capital and labor.

IV. State power is often dangerous; for,—

A. States can easily embarrass the Federal Government, as in the case of,

1. The attempted Nullification Acts of North Carolina.
2. The recent Japanese school situation in San Francisco.
3. Disturbances along the Mexican border line.

V. Increased Federal power is highly desirable; for,—

A. It would give uniformity of action in problems that by their very nature are national in importance; for,—

1. The laws would be uniform and apply to the whole country.

B. It would insure an adequate enforcement of all laws; for,—

1. Each statute would have the power of the Federal Government behind it.

C. It would greatly simplify the work of administration; for,—

1. All authority would be centred under one head.
2. Responsibility would be secured.
3. Direct and speedy action could be effected.

NEGATIVE

I. Further centralization of State power would seriously cripple many of the present State activities; for,—

A. It would take from the States activities from which they now receive revenue for taxes; for,—

1. The Federal incorporation of Inter-State corporations, for example, would be a severe financial loss to the States.
  - B. It would make the enforcement of State laws more difficult; for,—
    1. Offenders immediately go into the realm of Federal authority for protection.
      - a. This was true in South Carolina when State officials tried to enforce railroad legislation.
  - C. It would cause needless interference on the part of the central government in purely local affairs.
- II. Further centralization would tend to create a plutocracy in government; for,—
- A. Our Federal Government is already becoming top-heavy; for,—
    1. It attempts to dominate every phase of our national life.
  - B. The Federal Government responds quickly to the interests of the moneyed class; for,—
    1. This class can bring tremendous pressure to bear upon Congress and Federal officials; for,—
      - a. It can maintain expensive lobbies.
      - b. It gives vast contributions to national campaign funds.
    2. The Federal Government is more dependent upon the capitalistic interests; for,—
      - a. Its sources of revenue come from taxes that are assessed largely upon the rich, even though they be later shifted to the poor.

C. Wall Street even now influences to a great extent the activities of the United States Treasury.

III. Further centralization would be a national menace; for,—

A. It would deprive the people of much of their local government.

B. It would create bitterness and strife between State and National officials.

C. It would render popular control of many matters well-nigh impossible; for,—

1. The Federal Government is too far removed from the people to be responsive to local desires.

2. There would be no way of expressing popular approval or disapproval, except by the tedious and clumsy method of Congressional election.

IV. There is no need of further Federal centralization; for,—

A. The Federal Government is not suffering from want of sufficient power; for,—

1. It is capable of administering its laws at home.

2. Its power is acknowledged and respected abroad.

B. The State governments are able to cope with all present problems; for,—

1. They are constantly revising their laws to meet changing conditions.

2. They are close to the people and hence responsive to the popular will.

3. State laws are rightly enforced.

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## GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS

RESOLVED, That the railroads of the United States should be owned by the Federal Government.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The railroads contribute a peculiar and important part to present social and economic life. Thousands of lives are annually dependent upon their careful operation, while their charges regulate to a considerable degree the prices paid for the luxuries and necessities of life. In fact, the railroad touches almost every phase of present-day existence, both as a nation and as individuals.
- II. It is seen, then, that the question of proper management and ownership of railroads is one of vast importance.
- III. There are three means by which railroads may be owned:
  - A. There can be private ownership.
  - B. There can be State ownership.
  - C. There can be Federal ownership.
- IV. The question under discussion is, which of these methods is most desirable for the United States.

## AFFIRMATIVE

I. Federal ownership would remedy the evils of the present system; for,—

A. The Federal Government would eliminate discriminating rates; for,—

1. It is contrary to the policy of the Federal Government to give special privileges to any class.

a. The post-office department offers no special rates to given classes.

2. The Federal Government would have no object in granting rebates; for,—

a. All danger of cut-throat competition would be past.

3. The Federal Government has no private interest to promote. Its object is to serve all the people equally and justly.

B. Present excessive rates and fares would be lowered; for,—

1. The government would not own the railroads merely to make money.

2. The large salaries now paid to hundreds of presidents, vice-presidents, and the like, would be eliminated; for,—

a. There would be no need of so many different high-salaried heads; for,—

(1) Many of the offices could be advantageously combined.

(2) High salaries of many officers are now merely a means of hiding monopoly profits.

C. The present economic wastes could be eliminated; for,—

1. All competition would be stopped; for,—
  - a. The government would have no object in maintaining competitive lines.
2. Parallel lines would be done away with; for,—
  - a. The government could maintain single lines more efficiently and more economically than it could three parallel lines.

II. Government ownership is the proper solution; for,—

A. Private ownership has proved itself inadequate, for,—

1. The tendency to monopolistic control has worked various evils; for,—
  - a. Rates have been raised.
  - b. Fares have been raised.
  - c. Service has not been improved proportionately.
  - d. Discrimination has been practised.
  - e. Excessive profits have been realized at the expense of the general public.
  - f. Disastrous speculation has been encouraged.
  - g. Political corruption has been augmented.

B. State ownership is impractical; for,—

1. State control of inter-state commerce is constitutionally prohibited.
2. The individual states could devise no feasible means of proportional charges and

profits on shipments passing through their confines.

3. The State's power does not extend beyond its own borders.

C. The Federal Government would have the power to control the railroads; for,—

1. It is the business of Congress to control and regulate inter-state commerce.

D. Federal control would give better and more efficient service; for,—

1. All the time of officials would be spent in trying to better the service; for,—

- a. There would be no attempt to reap exorbitant profits.

- b. They would not have to continually guard against competitors.

2. Lines would be built to places needing them; for,—

- a. The government would have only the best interests of the people at heart.

III. Federal ownership is practical; for,—

A. Foreign countries have proved that governments can successfully own and operate railway systems; for,—

1. England has bettered its railway service by government ownership.

2. Germany has reduced its rates by government ownership.

3. France gives lower fares under government service.

4. New Zealand realizes large profits from its

railway operations in addition to furnishing excellent service and giving low rates.

B. The Federal Government has shown its capability to conduct work of a similar and equally important nature; for,—

1. It conducts a national system of finance.
2. It owns and operates arsenals and factories that manufacture ammunitions to provide for the national defence.

C. The argument that government ownership is not practical because the government has not sufficient money to purchase the roads, is not valid; for,—

1. The lines could be secured gradually; the trunk lines first, and the smaller branches bought with the profits realized from operating the trunk lines.

D. The argument that government ownership is not practical because such ownership would result in waste and extravagance, is not valid; for,—

1. Great publicity could be given to the management of affairs.
2. Civil service would secure the most competent and careful employees.
3. Extravagance or negligence would be cause for dismissal from service.

E. The argument that government ownership is not practical, because such a plan is socialistic in its nature and contrary to the spirit of American institutions is not valid; for,—

1. It is the duty of every government to see



to it that public service corporations are operated in the interest of the public, and not as money-making schemes.

2. The American people have time and time again advocated the eliminating of all kinds of monopolistic agreements, such as railroad pools, rebates, etc.
3. The sentiment in favor of government ownership is constantly increasing.

### NEGATIVE

I. Government ownership would be an unwarranted infringement of private enterprise; for,—

- A. It would take from the hands of private parties the greatest and most complex undertaking of modern times.
- B. It would take millions upon millions of private capital out of remunerative investment, and force it to seek other channels of trade.
- C. It would be compelling private parties to give up a business which they have spent years and fortunes in making, and which rightfully belongs to them.
- D. It would demoralize other private enterprises; for,—

1. The throwing of such gigantic sums of money into the industrial field would upset our whole industrial system.

II. Government ownership would be unwise from a business standpoint; for,—

- A. It would result in extravagance; for,—

1. Government employees are notoriously careless and wasteful in their use of materials.
  - a. It costs the government about four times as much to conduct the post-office department as it would cost to conduct the work under private ownership and management.
2. Government employees have no incentive to be careful; for,—
  - a. Their promotions come through a stereotyped process of civil service, in which efficiency and carefulness are but minimum factors.
- B. The government could not secure competent management for the roads; for,—
  1. The great captains of industry who now operate the roads would never consent to become mere government employees; for,—
    - a. They would seek fields that would give play to their individual initiative.
  2. Congress would be continually dictating the way in which the railroads should be managed.
- C. The undertaking is too vast; for,—
  1. If Congress met in daily session, it could not legislate sufficiently; for,—
    - a. There would be literally thousands of acts to be passed every day relative to the railroads.
  2. It would necessitate as large a governmental force to conduct the railroad busi-

ness alone, as is now required to conduct affairs for the whole nation.

III. Government ownership would be unwise from a financial standpoint; for,—

A. The government could never get money enough to pay for the roads; for,—

1. It would take billions of dollars.

B. The attempt to purchase the roads would play havoc with the money markets; for,—

1. There would have to be a general readjustment of all investments.

C. The slightest mismanagement would result in loss to the government. To-day such loss falls on private owners.

IV. Government ownership would be unwise from a political standpoint; for,—

A. Government ownership would necessarily impose enormous burdens upon Congress, which would materially detract from congressional service in other branches of government; for,—

1. It would be a physical impossibility for Congress to keep adequately informed in regard to so many activities.

B. Congress would make the railroads an object of political patronage; for,—

1. Tremendous pressure could be brought to bear on congressmen from all over the country compelling them to secure jobs for their constituents.

C. Political parties would make questions of railway management party issues, and thus inevitably

drag the railroads themselves into the political arena, just as the Second United States Bank was dragged into politics.

V. The argument that American railroads charge higher rates than do foreign roads is not valid; for,—

A. American service is superior in every way to foreign service; for,—

1. Trains run at greater speed.
2. Greater number of trains are maintained.
3. Trains run with greater regularity.
4. American equipment is more expensive.
5. American railroad men are paid higher wages.

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## IMMIGRATION, FURTHER RESTRICTION OF

RESOLVED, That our present immigration laws should be so amended as to provide for a further material restriction of immigration.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The immigration problem has always been a most vital one to the American people.
- II. The United States has been peopled and developed largely by immigrants.
- III. There have been notable changes in the character of the immigration since the United States first became a nation. English immigration was largely superseded by Irish and German. The Irish and German were in turn superseded by Scandinavians, Danes, etc. Then came the Italians and other nations of southern Europe. At present, large numbers of Russian Jews, Lithuanians, Asiatics, etc., are coming into American ports.
- IV. Many measures are proposed from time to time, looking toward a greater restriction of immigration.
- V. The question at issue is whether or not the present laws adequately discriminate between desirable and undesirable immigrants.



## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The present laws are inadequate; for,—
  - A. They admit many ignorant persons; for,—
    - 1. There is no illiteracy test of any kind.
  - B. They do not provide proper inspection; for,—
    - 1. Steamship companies are able to land large numbers of criminally inclined and poverty-stricken people.
    - 2. They also land many paupers and other dependents.
  - C. They do not make a distinction in races; for,—
    - 1. With the exception of the Chinese and the Japanese, any race is freely admitted.
- II. Much of the present immigration is undesirable from the standpoint of the American workmen; for,—
  - A. Immigrants from southern Europe, Russia, and Asiatic countries constantly tend to break down the standard of living of the American labor; for,—
    - 1. The immigrant works longer hours.
    - 2. The immigrant works for less money.
    - 3. The immigrant has no home life worth while.
  - B. Immigrants flock into sweat-shops.
  - C. Immigrants easily become the prey of large trusts. Through the use of immigrants, capitalists are able to exploit the whole labor market.
- III. Much of the present-day immigration is undesirable from the standpoint of public safety; for,—
  - A. Immigrants with wholly un-American ideals of government are admitted.

B. Immigrants easily become the victims of conspiring politicians; for,—

1. Many immigrants do not know the first principles of the duties of citizenship.
2. Many immigrants will gladly sell their votes for a glass of liquor.

C. Immigrants flock to the slums of the cities, creating breeding-places of disease and vice that become national menaces.

IV. Immigration in large numbers is no longer needed; for,—

A. There is no demand for more laborers in the United States.

B. The supply of public lands is fast becoming exhausted. Greater intervals will follow the opening of every new reserve.

C. There are plenty of men for military service.

D. Additional races are not needed for the purpose of amalgamation.

E. What is needed is efficiency rather than numbers; a few strong races rather than many inferior ones; in a word, quality, not quantity.

### NEGATIVE

I. The present laws restricting immigration are adequate to meet the needs of the country for some time to come; for,—

A. They provide for the exclusion of such undesirables as polygamists, anarchists, criminals, dependents, and those afflicted with loathsome, dangerous, and contagious diseases.

- II. A further material restriction of immigration would prove unwise from the standpoint of American labor; for,—
- A Such restrictions would compel many American laborers to remain as cheap and unskilled help; for,—
1. Restriction would shut off the supply of unskilled labor from foreign countries.
- III. A further material restriction of immigration would prove unwise from the standpoint of American capital; for,—
- A. It would cripple many large commercial undertakings; for,—
1. The supply of available labor would be diminished.
  2. Wages would rise abnormally, with a resultant increase in cost of production.
- IV. A further material restriction of immigration would prove unwise from the standpoint of the American public; for,—
- A. Prices would be raised; for,—
1. The increased cost of production would result in higher prices.
- V. Further restriction is not needed; for,—
- A. The standard of living of the American laborer is not deteriorating; for,—
1. There is always a demand for the efficient laborer.
  2. The evils of the slum districts are being rapidly decreased.
  3. Political corruption is not due to immigrants, but dishonest Americans.

VI. Further restriction would be contrary to American principles and experiences; for,—

- A. We believe in giving an opportunity to every well-meaning person.
- B. Many of the best citizens and wisest statesmen that America has ever known, have come to this country as immigrants.
- C. Immigration is the thing that has made the nation strong and powerful.

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## INCOME TAX, A GRADUATED FEDERAL

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government should adopt a graduated income tax; constitutionality granted.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The question of establishing a general income tax is a matter of immediate interest to the people of the United States. It is being discussed by prominent statesmen and in leading journals.
- II. The fact that the expenditures of the government fluctuate from surplus to deficit, and vice versa, and that an income tax has been suggested by some as a means of relieving this situation, has doubtless had much to do with the present discussion of the question.
- III. The income tax is not a new plan of assessment. It is found in many civilized countries. During the Civil War the United States established such a tax. Again, in 1894, an income tax was adopted by the Federal Government, but the law creating it was declared to be technically unconstitutional. In many of our States at the present time income taxes are before the people for ratification.

## AFFIRMATIVE

I. The United States needs a new supplementary tax; for,—

A. The present system is fast growing inadequate as a revenue producer; for,—

1. Expenditures are increasing with the growing complexity of civilization.
2. Contrary to general foreign customs, the United States has not expanded its Federal taxing system.
3. Figures show the immediate need of additional revenue; for,—

a. Although it is conceded that there is field for economy, still this argument is overbalanced by the demand of unfinished improvements; etc.

4. There is universal desire to reduce tariff materially; for,—

a. It is believed to be a cause of exorbitant prices on common articles.

b. The advisability of limiting tariff solely to an industrial policy is recognized.

B. The present system needs an elastic element; for,—

1. At critical times it is found to be entirely inadequate.
2. It does not respond to large budgetary changes; for,—

a. The result of changing the tariff is always uncertain.

b. Revenue changes respond but slowly to tariff changes.

3. The changes in it involve industrial uncertainty.

C. The present system needs an equitable element; for,—

1. It now constitutes merely a tax on expenditure.

2. The rich are bearing gradually a smaller share of the Federal taxes.

II. The inherent qualities of an income tax levied by the Federal Government, point to it as a logical remedy for present defects; for,—

A. The income tax is reliable; for,—

1. This has been proved by experience of the British tax, and our own Civil War tax.

2. A change in the rate of taxation will produce a corresponding change in revenue received.

B. The income tax would give an element of elasticity to the present system; for,—

1. It will make possible a balance between receipts and expenditures.

2. The British tax is elastic.

C. The income tax is equitable; for,—

1. The burden of it falls in proportion to the ability of a man to pay.

2. It will offset the regression of the present Federal taxes.

III. Judged as an assessment measure, the income tax is efficient and practicable in operation; for,—

A. It can be effectively collected; for,—

1. The justice of the graduation appeals to all.
- B. Ninety per cent of the incomes can be assessed. As the sources of this amount, corporations approximate fifty per cent, real estate approximates thirty-two per cent, and salaries eight per cent.
- C. It can be collected at a minimum cost; for,—
  1. The machinery for collection is already installed.
    - a. Corporation tax provisions can be utilized.
    - b. Post-office and census bureaus can be used.
  2. Cost of collecting English income tax is small.
  3. Cost of collecting the present Federal corporation tax is small.

#### NEGATIVE

- I. An income tax is not necessary from a fiscal standpoint; for,—
  - A. It is not needed as a revenue producer; for,—
    1. The primary purpose of any tax is to raise revenue, and present financial conditions do not demand an additional tax; for,—
      - a. All governmental deficits are rapidly diminishing.
      - b. Present financial conditions are not unusual.
    2. The present taxing system is adequate to care for future needs; for,—

- a. The practice of economy by governmental employees will mean reduced expenditures and increased receipts.
- b. The internal taxing system can be greatly expanded.
- c. The tariff will continue for many years to be an enormous revenue-producer.

(1) Tariff revision will mean increased revenue.

B. It is not needed to secure an equilibrium between ordinary receipts and expenditures; for,—

1. It is impossible to estimate correctly income and outgo.
2. The argument that England secures desirable estimates by means of the income tax is not valid; for,—
  - a. The close balances in England are secured by the use of modern budgetary methods.

II. An income tax is not necessary from the standpoint of equity; for,—

- A. The present Federal system is essentially equitable; for,—
  1. All indirect taxes are provided for by increased wages.
  2. Excises are levied on luxuries.
  3. The tariff is two-fold.
    - a. As a tax it is not a heavy burden.
    - b. As a protective policy, any evils of over-protection may be remedied directly.

B. The argument that a Federal income tax would cure the evils of our present taxing system is not valid; for,—

1. Present evils of taxation are confined to the general property tax of the States. The negative admits that a general property tax is not adapted to modern conditions. It was instituted before intangible property began to exist.

III. An income tax is undesirable; for,—

A. It would result in multiple taxation; for,—

1. The tax reaches the same wealth as is reached in the State-taxing systems.
2. The tax would be an unjust encroachment upon the field of State taxation.

B. It is essentially a general property tax; for,—

1. In England ninety per cent of the tax comes from property schedules.

C. All the evils of State taxation would be introduced into the Federal system.

IV. An income tax is impracticable; for,—

A. There are but two kinds of assessment — self assessment and assessment at the source.

1. Assessment at the source is a failure; for,—

- a. It has failed in Italy. Private business, forming thirty per cent of the wealth, pays only four per cent of the tax.

- b. It has failed in Prussia. “In Prussia, incomes have been rated at less than one-third of their value.”—J.

A. HILL.

- c. It has failed in England. In schedule "D" alone, the report of 1906 says that over \$400,000,000 escaped through assessment.
  - d. It has failed in the American State income taxes. For this reason the various States have largely abandoned the tax.
  - e. It has failed in the Federal income tax of 1861. The income continually diminished through the period of its administration. It was for this reason that the tax was repealed.
  - f. It has failed in our personal-property tax. So much evasion occurs under the property tax that such taxes have become almost a joke. In Cook county, Illinois, the report of the tax commission for 1897 says that only thirteen per cent of the total valuation is assessed.
2. The only practicable way of reaching a man's income is through assessment at the source; but assessment at the source would not be practical with an income tax; for,—
- a. There are two kinds of incomes—those which are collected at their source, and those which have no tangible source. The former are represented by incomes from corporation dividends, salaries, rents, etc.;

the latter, by those from business, professions, and trades.

(1) The latter class cannot be reached by assessment at the source, as they have no tangible source.

(2) Incomes which are collected at the source are not free from evasion; for,—

(a) Salaries will pay the full tax because they can be caught and held at their source, but almost all salaries will fall under the exemption; or at least they should, as the tax is intended to relieve the salaried class.

(b) Incomes from rentals really depend upon self-assessment. The gross income can be easily determined, but this is not taxable. To find the net income which is taxable, all the expenses of the landowner must be known. To learn this the word of the individual must be relied upon. This is virtually self-assessment.

(3) Incomes from corporations,



which comprise the great preponderance of the nation's wealth, are not reached by assessment at the source; for,—

(a) Corporation profits are not always declared in dividends.

(b) Corporation books conceal the company's true profits.

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## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

RESOLVED, That the optional initiative and optional referendum should be adopted in State legislation.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Certain evils existing in the various State governments have aroused widespread discussion as to possible means of their elimination.
- II. Many statesmen and reformers are advocating, as a remedy, the adoption of the optional initiative and optional referendum.
- III. The fundamental idea behind the initiative is that the voters in a State may at their own option suggest and vote upon given measures, irrespective of any action by the State legislature. If a majority of those casting ballots vote in favor of the measure, it becomes a law. If a majority be against the measure, it does not become a law.
- IV. The referendum operates in much the same way. If the legislature passes a measure which does not meet with popular approval, the voters may by means of the referendum have the question submitted to a popular vote. The legislature is forced to abide by the decision of the voters as expressed at the election.
- V. The initiative and referendum are in use in several

foreign countries, and in a number of American States and cities.

### AFFIRMATIVE

I. The initiative and referendum are logical and natural outgrowths in the development of American government; for,—

A. They are in harmony with the development that has preceded them. This development has included:

1. The New England town meeting.
2. The organization of representative government.
3. The restrictions that are more and more being placed upon the power of the legislature, such as,
  - a. Governors were formerly selected by the legislatures. Now they are elected by a direct vote of the people.
  - b. Presidential electors were formerly selected by the legislatures. Now they are chosen by a direct vote of the people.
  - c. Members of the judiciary were formerly selected by the legislatures. Now they are chosen by a direct vote of the people.
  - d. Constitutional amendments were formerly drafted and passed by the legislatures. Now, in nearly all States, they are submitted to the people for final ratification.

B. They begin at the point where the previous reform measures leave off.

II. The initiative and referendum will secure better government; for,—

A. They will raise the standard of citizenship; for,—

1. A higher respect for law will be inculcated; for,—

a. The voters, themselves, will be the law-makers. They will respect their own laws.

2. The measures will have profound educational effect; for,—

a. The voters will be instructed concerning the issues before them.

b. Actual participation in the voting will be educational in itself.

B. They will put legislation on a business-like basis; for,—

1. There will be a complete separation of political issues from the personality of candidates for office. Each will be considered upon its own merits.

C. They will do away with undesirable legislation, either intentional or unintentional; for,—

1. The power of political machines will be broken; for,—

a. The people will have an opportunity to vote directly upon the issues before them. Important questions will not be left to the discretion of a few party leaders.

2. Lobbying will be eliminated from politics; for,—

- a. The voters, themselves, will actually decide the important measures.
- b. The knowledge that measure may at any time be put before the people for ratification will cause members of legislatures to vote for each question upon its own merits, rather than be influenced by persons who have interests at stake.

3. The incentive for bribery will be taken away; for,—

- a. With the possibilities of the measure being referred to the voters, the legislator can no longer promise to “deliver” the votes.

III. The initiative and referendum are practical; for,—

- A. They require only the ordinary election machinery.
- B. They are exceedingly simple in operation.
- C. They are comparatively inexpensive.

IV. The initiative and referendum have proved uniformly successful; for,—

- A. “Boss” rule has been eliminated in South Dakota.
- B. Granting of special privileges has been prevented in Oklahoma.
- C. Corporate domination has been done away in Oregon.
- D. Switzerland has been signally successful in using the measures.



## NEGATIVE

- I. The initiative and referendum are contrary to the fundamental principles of American government; for,—
  - A. They strike at the very root of representative government; for,—
    - 1. They weaken the power of the legislature; for,—
      - a. They take from it final authority.
    - 2. They take away the responsibility of members of the legislature.
    - 3. The measures are based on the assumption that the members of the legislatures are either corrupt or ignorant.
    - 4. The measures assume that the mass of the people are more intelligent and wiser than the persons whom they choose to represent them.
  - B. They encourage hasty and unwise action; for,—
    - 1. They are based upon the idea that the popular demand is always the course that should be followed.
- II. The argument that the initiative and referendum will eliminate political corruption is not valid; for,—
  - A. It is a very simple matter to secure fraudulent signatures on initiative and referendum petitions; for,—
    - 1. Petitions are circulated in saloons and similar places.
    - 2. Petitions are often left lying around in stores for days at a time.

III. The argument that the initiative and referendum will give a conservative tone to legislation is not valid; for,—

A. The initiative and referendum are almost always used in times of public excitement.

IV. The initiative and referendum are impractical in actual operation; for,—

A. Voters have failed to show any permanent increased interest in public affairs; for,—

1. As soon as the novelty of the plan has worn away, they have neglected to come to the polls to vote.

B. Voters have been very superficial in their investigations of pending problems; for,—

1. They have evidenced neither interest nor care in voting upon measures.

C. Voters have used the measures only spasmodically, and have thus kept legislatures in continual doubt as to what course to pursue.

D. Special interests have found it comparatively easy to circularize the State and secure the passage of measures particularly favorable to them.

V. Present conditions do not warrant the adoption of such measures as the initiative and referendum; for,—

A. State governments are comparatively free from abuses; for,—

1. With but few exceptions, legislators try honestly to represent their constituents.

2. The legislators are men of unusual ability and intelligence.

B. In those instances where unworthy or inefficient legislators are in power, the evil can be remedied

by the voters coming to the polls and electing good men to office. The responsibility rests entirely with the people even at the present time.

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## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

RESOLVED, That for American cities, the municipal ownership of those public-service corporations which furnish water, light, and transportation, is preferable to private ownership.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The term "public-service corporation" may be defined as follows: A public-service corporation is a corporation that is operated in the interest of the public good. An example of what is meant by a public-service corporation is seen when reference is made to companies which operate street-car systems, lighting-plants, telephone lines, and water-works.
  - A. Public-service corporations are of three kinds:
    1. Privately owned.
    2. Privately owned, but inspected and regulated by public authority.
    3. Publicly owned.
- II. The problem of the proper control of public-service corporations is of vital importance; for,—
  - A. Directly or indirectly, these corporations affect the welfare, health, and safety of the inhabitants of every city.

- III. Some of the worst instances of graft and scandal in municipal history have been connected with public-service corporations.
- A. New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco are good examples of conditions at given times in some of the larger cities.
- IV. The particular question under discussion arises when an investigation is made of the most feasible way of conducting public-service corporations.

## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Private ownership of those public-utility corporations furnishing light, water, and transportation is theoretically indefensible; for,—
- A. The work of supplying such utilities to the community is a public duty, and as such should be performed by the public.
- B. The streets and alleys of municipalities are public property, and as such should not be used for the aggrandizement of private parties.
- C. Private ownership takes no thought of public welfare; for,—
1. Its sole object is to get the largest financial returns from the consumer.
- D. The duty of furnishing such utilities is a public one. Therefore, the responsibility should be placed squarely upon the public, and not left to private companies.
- II. Private ownership has proved a failure in actual practice; for,—
- A. It has resulted in extortionate charges; for,—

1. Private companies often make rates monopolistic.
  - a. New York Street Railway.
- B. It has resulted in conditions that are a public menace; for,—
  1. Cheap and inexperienced men are employed as motormen and conductors on city railways, with resulting accidents and loss of life.
  2. In many cities private companies furnish inadequate fire protection; drinking water is bad; lighting is insufficient.
- C. It has resulted in political corruption; for,—
  1. Private companies have not hesitated to bribe city councils and municipal committees whenever the companies wished to obtain a valuable concession.
  2. In many cities valuable franchises have been given to corporations in return for political favors.
  3. Private corporations have not hesitated to corrupt State legislatures in order to secure the passage of favorable legislation.
    - a. Conditions in New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri are typical examples.
- D. It has resulted in gross over-capitalization of public-utility corporations all over the land; for,—
  1. Private companies dare not permit the public to learn of the exorbitant profits they reap.

III. Private ownership, coupled with public inspection and control, is ineffective; for,—

A. It causes endless delays and court litigations.

B. It increases the municipal expense.

C. It has not, where tried, resulted in improved service.

IV. Municipal ownership would remedy the defects incident to private ownership; for,—

A. It will cure the evil of over-capitalization; for,—

1. A municipality would have no desire to hide its profits. The city's criterion would be efficient service rather than large dividends.

B. It would make possible the lowering of many rates that at present are exorbitant; for,—

1. The goal toward which each city would strive would be to give the best service to the largest number of its citizens at a minimum charge.

C. It would eliminate political corruption; for,—

1. With municipal ownership in operation there would be no valuable franchises to be sold or given away. Hence, the incentive to bribery would be eliminated.

D. It would give efficient service; for,—

1. Part of the money now sacrificed in abnormal profits on watered stock could be used to secure experienced and high-grade labor.

V. Municipal ownership is thoroughly practical; for,—

A. It has been in operation in European cities for many years with gratifying success.

1. Cities in England, France, and Germany all operate public-service plants.

2. Glasgow, Scotland, has found municipal ownership not only efficient, but highly profitable.

B. It has been a success in the United States; for,—

1. A number of cities at the present time are successfully operating part or all of their public-service plants.

VI. A feasible plan of municipal ownership would be to have the plants under the inspection and nominal control of a non-partisan State commission, such as is now already in operation in some of our States. This plan would have the following advantages:

- A. It would insure regular and thorough inspection — much the same as our banks are now inspected.
- B. It would eliminate the possibility of exploitation by a corrupt city council.
- C. It would do away entirely with the possibility of undue political influence being used in connection with appointments and removals.
- D. It would insure adequate publicity in all operations of the plant.
- E. It would, in fact, compel the city to run the plants efficiently, economically, and in the interest of the entire municipality.

### NEGATIVE

I. Private ownership has certain advantages unobtainable under municipal ownership; for,—

- A. It gives greater opportunity for individual initiative; for,—

1. As President Hadley, of Yale, says,

“ Initiative is synonymous with private enterprise.”

- B. It makes possible the operation of interurban lines. No municipality could own and operate interurban lines; for,—
  - 1. A city's rights and privileges do not extend beyond the city limits.
- C. It gives more economical management; for,—
  - 1. Private companies for their own financial advantage desire to have their rates so reasonable that they will reach a point where they can supply the largest number with the greatest amount of service.
  - 2. Private companies have stricter supervision.
  - 3. Private companies have the results of years of experience in operating.
  - 4. Private companies do not pay excessive or useless salaries.
  - 5. Private companies are more favorable to better equipment.
  - 6. Private companies are not subjected to political pressure.
- D. Experience has proved that private ownership is thoroughly practical; for,—
  - 1. It has been tried by every city in the United States.
  - 2. It has not been shown to be undesirable; for,—
    - a. Where corruption has existed there have been other reasons besides private ownership.

- II. The argument that public-service corporations should be municipally owned simply because some of the private companies are over-capitalized is not valid; for,—
- A. The proper method of preventing over-capitalization is to pass and enforce rigorous State laws against over-capitalization.
  - B. The United States Supreme Court has decided that, if the municipalities wish to take over the plants of public-service corporations, they must pay dollar for dollar to the private companies for the stock, whether it be watered or not.
- III. Municipal ownership would be inefficient; for,—
- A. Cities are unbusinesslike; for,—
    - 1. Their operations are characterized by red tape, political machinations, short terms of service, and unexpected and uncalled-for removals from office.
    - 2. The initiative of a municipal officer is destroyed; for,—
      - a. If he wishes to remain in public favor, he must many times give way to the popular fancy, rather than use cool, sound business judgment.
- IV. Municipal ownership is impracticable; for,—
- A. The municipalities could never secure money enough to purchase the plants from private companies without imposing enormous burdens upon the taxpayers; for,—
    - 1. The value of privately owned public-service plants in the United States is over three billion dollars.



V. Municipal ownership is unnecessary; for,—

A. Private companies can be put under proper inspection and regulation; for,—

1. There can be State public-utility commissions established in the various States to inspect and regulate the private companies, as has been done in Massachusetts and Wisconsin.
2. There can be strict municipal control, as illustrated by regulations enforced by the city of Chicago in dealing with the street-car company.
3. There can be an equitable division of the corporation earnings, between the companies and the municipalities.
4. There can be more rigorous municipal inspection and regulation.

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## PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, PERMANENT RETENTION OF

RESOLVED, That the United States should retain permanent possession of the Philippine Islands.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Ever since the Spanish-American War the possession of the Philippine Islands by the United States has been a source of politic discussion both at home and abroad.
- II. It is recognized that the permanent possession of the Islands would mark the beginning of the new colonial policy by the United States.
- III. There are four ways in which the Philippine question could be settled:
  - A. The Islands might be given their independence.
  - B. The Islands might be sold to some foreign power.
  - C. The United States could establish a protectorate over the Islands.
  - D. The United States can retain permanent possession of the Islands.
- IV. The question at issue is, of course, which of these four policies should be adopted by the United States.

## AFFIRMATIVE

I. Permanent possession is the only feasible plan for the United States to follow; for,—

A. The independence of the Islands is undesirable; for,—

1. The natives are incapable of self-government.

2. The natives do not desire independence.

B. The disposal of the Islands to a foreign power is unadvisable; for,—

1. It would be in violation of implied agreements that the United States has with foreign nations.

2. It would be contrary to all American precedents.

3. It would cause antagonism between foreign powers and the United States.

C. The establishment of a protectorate would be impractical; for,—

1. Protectorates generally have resulted only in expense, confusion, and failure.

2. The natives are not capable of government, even under a protectorate. This is illustrated by conditions in Cuba, San Domingo, and the Five Indian Tribes.

D. Permanent possession is in harmony with the past policies in dealing with non-contiguous territory.

1. Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico are examples.

E. Permanent possession is solving the problem in the Islands; for,—

1. Conditions there are rapidly improving.
2. The policy is meeting with increased favor, both at home and abroad.

II. Permanent possession is a direct benefit to the United States; for,—

A. The Islands are valuable from a military standpoint; for,—

1. Their possession by a foreign foe would be nothing less than a catastrophe; for,—
  - a. It would shut the United States out of the Eastern Pacific.
2. They furnish needed coaling and supply stations for our navy.
3. They furnish a point at which we could easily mobilize an army.

B. The Islands are valuable from a commercial standpoint; for,—

1. They furnish a profitable source of trade for the United States; for,—
  - a. They send us much-needed raw material, such as hemp, sugar, lumber, and minerals.
  - b. They purchase large quantities of our finished products.

(1) During the last year their imports from the United States amounted to many millions of dollars, and the total is constantly increasing.

2. They will furnish a basis for future Oriental trade; for,—



a. They are located at the very door of the Eastern markets.

(1) American foreign trade of the future lies in the Orient.

(2) All the important nations of the world already possess valuable trading stations in the Pacific.

III. Permanent possession is a benefit to the Islands themselves; for,—

A. Permanent possession is of great social advantage; for,—

1. It insures rapid and consistent education of the population.

2. It insures improvement of sanitary conditions.

3. It insures the building of roads, and the undertaking of extensive public works.

B. Permanent possession is of great political advantage; for,—

1. It insures a satisfactory and proper form of representative government, both State and local.

C. Permanent possession would be of great military advantages; for,—

1. It insures domestic tranquillity.

2. It insures protection from foreign foes.

D. Permanent possession would be of inestimable economic value; for,—

1. It is developing the natural resources of the Islands.

2. It is increasing the foreign trade of the Islands.
  3. It is establishing factories and railroads in the Islands.
  4. It is causing American capital to flow into the Islands.
  5. It is giving employment to the population of the Islands.
- IV. The United States is the only nation that can insure the necessary social, political, military, and economic advantages; for,—
- A. The natives themselves can not carry out the necessary policies of government; for,—
    1. They do not have the requisite ability.
  - B. Every colonial possession of foreign countries in the tropics has resulted, not in the building up of the colony, but in the exploitation of it by the mother country. This has been true of England's possessions; of Belgium's possessions; and of Germany's possessions.

### NEGATIVE

- I. Permanent possession is not in harmony with the American theory of government; for,—
  - A. The policy of the United States has been to hold only territory lying within the Western Hemisphere.
  - B. The spirit of the Monroe Doctrine is that America shall not hold territory in the Eastern Hemisphere.

- C. The American government is founded upon the belief that every voter shall have a voice in the government under which he lives.

II. Permanent possession would be unjust to the inhabitants of the Islands; for,—

- A. It would deprive them of the right of self-government.
- B. It would tend to keep them in a condition of servitude; for,—

- 1. If they became too well educated, they would be in constant rebellion against the United States.

- 2. It would take away their incentive to become a strong people.

- C. It would be depriving them of liberty that really belongs to them; for,—

- 1. The United States has no moral right to the Islands; for,—

- a. They were gained through conquest of war, and might does not make right.

- D. It would be refusing to give them independence that they well deserve; for,—

- 1. They have struggled valiantly for freedom. This was seen in their struggle against Spain and against the United States.

III. Permanent possession would be unwise; for,—

- A. It would greatly add to national expenses; for,—

- 1. It would be necessary to maintain a larger army; for,—

- a. The Federal Government would never

know at what moment we might be called upon to defend the Islands. In fact, America would have to keep a standing army in the Islands; for,—

(1) If she did not, rebellion and guerilla warfare would be constantly breaking out.

2. It would be necessary to build a larger navy; for,—

a. Without a strong Pacific fleet, it would be folly to try to retain the Islands permanently.

3. It would be necessary to construct extensive military stations on the Islands.

4. It would be necessary to spend vast sums in endeavoring to improve the Islands; for,—

a. As they now are they would be useless to the country.

B. It would tend to embroil the United States in Oriental troubles; for,—

1. Being a property owner in the Orient, we would inevitably be dragged into the controversies that constantly arise there.

C. It would eventually arouse the bitter enmity of European nations; for,—

1. They would believe that the United States was attempting to dominate the Orient.

D. It would certainly arouse the antagonism of China and Japan; for,—

1. Japan and China would consider perma-

nent possession on the part of the United States as an encroachment upon their territory, just the same as America would consider the occupation of Mexico by foreign powers an infringement of the Monroe Doctrine.

IV. There is no need for permanent possession; for,—

A. The Filipinos are capable of self-government; for,—

1. Many of them are well educated.
2. They possess much native ability.

B. A protectorate system would give the United States all the advantages of permanent possession without incurring the evils of permanent possession; for,—

1. It would provide coaling and military stations for the United States on the Islands; for,—

- a. It is customary to allow these privileges to the country extending the protection.

2. It would give the United States preference in commercial matters; for,—

- a. The natives would naturally be brought in closer touch with Americans.

3. It would give the Islands their independence, and at the same time insure them adequate safeguards against stronger powers; for,—

- a. A protectorate would mean that the natives could enjoy self-government,

while at the same time the United States would see to it that foreign nations did not prey upon the Islands.

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## PRIMARY, NOMINATIONS BY THE

RESOLVED, That State, district, county, and city officers should be nominated by direct primaries held under State regulation rather than by delegate convention.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. There is at the present time much agitation in favor of doing away with the nomination of candidates by delegate convention, and substituting therefor nomination by direct primary.
- II. This agitation doubtless had its origin in the discovery that under the present system fraudulent and corrupt means are sometimes used to secure nominations.
- III. The plan of nominating candidates by a delegate convention started in 1824. According to this plan, the voters of a given party, by means of caucuses held in their respective localities, elected delegates to meet in a general convention. This convention, in turn, nominated candidates for the various offices. It was the intention of its founders that the delegate convention should be a representative, deliberative body.
- IV. The primary system of nomination is of comparatively recent origin. Under the primary plan a voter wishing to become a candidate for a given office secures a petition signed by a small number of qualified voters

— which petition contains announcement of his desire to become a candidate. A ballot containing the names of all aspirants is prepared, and a general election held, at which the persons receiving the highest number of votes cast are declared the candidates for their respective offices. The regular election follows as usual.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The delegate convention system has lost its democracy; for,—
  - A. Candidates are no longer elected by the will of the majority, but receive their nominations through the dictation of party leaders.
    - 1. In the national campaign of 1872, for example, General Grant found that he was a mere figurehead; that the party leaders dictated the nominations.
  - B. It has become customary for a few leaders to make out “slates,” assigning the places to be filled to certain persons; for,—
    - 1. By preparing such a list in advance, they can secure and solidify the support of enough candidates to give them a majority in the convention.
- II. The delegate convention system has lost the force of its former appeal to the mass of the voters; for,—
  - A. The conditions which formerly surrounded the convention have greatly changed; for,—
    - 1. To-day the average voter is informed through the daily newspaper and the magazines. He does not have to go to a

convention to deliberate over his political views.

B. The imperfect organization of the delegate convention has become apparent to every one; for,—

1. It has been customary for "bosses" to "pack" caucuses with disreputable citizens. Then the convention in turn is utilized by the small coterie that dominated the various caucuses. The average voter has no voice in the convention.

III. The delegate convention system has encouraged political corruption; for,—

A. It has made "boss" rule comparatively easy; for,—

1. A few fair party leaders, through the aid of their henchmen, have dominated the caucuses and controlled the delegates on the convention floor.

B. Corporations have found it a simple matter to bribe the political leaders; for,—

1. Such leaders, under the delegate convention system, have been far removed from the people.

IV. The present tendency is to give the people direct participation in governmental matters; for,—

A. The authority to nominate the president has been taken from Congress and given to the people.

B. The Australian ballot has been introduced.

C. The Initiative and Referendum have been provided.

D. The primary system of nomination has come into being.

- V. The direct primary has certain inherent advantages; for,—
- A. It gives proper expression to the popular will; for,—
    - 1. The voter can choose his candidate unmolested; for,—
      - a. Party “bosses” are not permitted to interfere with the primary.
  - B. It makes fitness for office, rather than pledges to political leaders, the criterion by which the voter judges the candidate.
  - C. It eliminates the intricate and vicious system of party committees, which is an inherent part of the delegate convention.
  - D. It removes opportunity for corruption; for,—
    - 1. Ward politicians and corporations cannot bribe a majority of the voters; for,—
      - a. The task is too prodigious, even to them.
    - 2. Candidates for office are compelled to publish their campaign expenses, and tell from whom they received campaign contributions.
  - E. One general primary takes the place of many caucuses and conventions.

## NEGATIVE

- I. The primary system is contrary to the present theory of American government; for,—
- A. It substitutes direct popular control for representative, deliberative control; for,—

1. It would eliminate the delegate convention system.
2. It would turn the work of selecting candidates over to the popular will.

II. The primary system is un-American; for,—

A. While appearing to be a democratic institution, it is, as a matter of fact, thoroughly undemocratic; for,—

1. Candidates desiring nominations are put to an enormous expense; for,—
  - a. It is necessary to conduct a State-wide campaign even for an insignificant office.
  - b. Only the rich or those having the support of powerful and interested corporations can afford to conduct successful primary campaigns.

III. As a reform measure the primary system is ineffective; for,—

A. It does not put the best men into office; for,—

1. The candidate who can make the biggest showing before the people captures the vote. He may be—in fact, often is—a mere demagogue.
2. The primary is essentially undeliberative in character. It represents the popular whim of the moment—not the cool judgment of men with years of experience in public affairs.
3. Modest, dignified citizens will not undergo the “mud slinging” incident to primary elections just to secure a public office.

- B. It can not maintain the public interest; for,—
1. The people soon tire of going to the polls merely to nominate candidates.

- C. It puts a premium on instability in governmental matters; for,—

1. A person in order to court popular favor must respond instantly to the popular demand, even though that demand be not for the best permanent good of the community or State; for,—

- a. If he does not agree with the popular fancy, he cannot hope to be nominated at the primary.

- IV. The primary system is expensive to the State; for,—

- A. It is equivalent to holding a general State election.

- B. The machinery necessary for it is complicated and costly; for,—

1. Ballots must be printed.
2. Notices of primary election must be printed.
3. Election officials must be employed.

- V. The primary system has signally failed when put into actual operation; for,—

- A. Voters of one party have purposely voted for and nominated poor candidates on the opposing ticket, in order to insure the defeat of their opponents at the regular election that follows.

- B. The plan has not brought forth as good candidates for office as were nominated by the delegate convention.

- C. The plan has not maintained the popular interest; for,—

1. When a demagogue was not stirring up a "scandal," the people have not even come out to the polls to vote.

D. In many places the plan has enabled political "bosses" to usurp positions of honor and trust formerly occupied by honest, conservative citizens.

VI. The objections urged against the delegate convention are not valid; for,—

A. If corruption has existed in connection with delegate conventions, it has been due either

1. To a lack of proper safeguards; or,—
2. To a lack of public interest, neither of which are defects in the convention system itself, and both of which can be remedied without destroying the convention system.

B. If caucuses have been "packed," it has been because the people have not cared enough about affairs of government to come out and nominate candidates; for,—

1. If the voters would come to the caucuses, it would be impossible for "bosses" to "pack" the meetings.

V. The delegate convention system is a vital part and essential part of the machinery of government; for,—

1. It gives a ballast and poise to the popular will.
2. It tends to check hasty and unwise action.
3. It substitutes calm deliberation for popular frenzy and excitement.
4. In a word, it gives what the framer of the



constitution intended that the country should have — a truly representative government.

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## REPEAL OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT (NEGRO SUFFRAGE)

RESOLVED, That the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States should be repealed.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The question has to do primarily with Section I of the fifteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States, which reads as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
- II. The fifteenth amendment was one of three that were passed at the close of the Civil War with the purpose in view of giving the negro the same freedom, protection, and rights which had theretofore been granted to the whites. The particular amendment under discussion relates to the negro's right of suffrage.
- III. Ever since the passage of the measure there have been those who have insisted that the action was unwarranted and inadvisable. The years intervening since the passage of the act have not lessened discussion relative to the matter.

## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The circumstances surrounding the passage of the amendment were unfortunate; for,—
  - A. Congress was deeply embittered toward the South; for,—
    - 1. The Civil War was scarcely closed.
    - 2. Lincoln had just been assassinated.
  - B. Very little time was given to deliberation; for,—
    - 1. The amendment was looked upon as a final war measure.
  - C. The protests of the Southern States were given no consideration; for,—
    - 1. The South was forced to choose between accepting the amendments or losing the right of suffrage.
- II. The amendment was forced through Congress largely by two classes of people:
  - A. The “carpet baggers,” who wished to use the negro votes as political power to crush the southern democrats.
  - B. A few sentimentalists who were willing to give the negro anything that a person would suggest.
- III. The passage of the amendment was inadvisable from the standpoint of the negro; for,—
  - A. It placed him upon apparent political equality with the white man, a place which in the very nature of things he could not fill acceptably; for,—
    - 1. The centuries of savagery and slavery through which he had just passed were not the proper training for citizenship.

2. He did not have the slightest conception of what was expected of him.
3. No preparatory training of any kind had been provided for him.
4. His attempts to exercise his right of suffrage angered the South and eventually disgusted the North.

IV. The passage of the amendment was inadvisable from the standpoint of the South; for,—

A. It created immediate hostility between the southern whites and blacks; for,—

1. The whites knew from experience that the negroes were not capable of handling the ballot intelligently.

B. It caused misunderstanding between the North and South that has taken years to efface.

V. The passage of the amendment was inadvisable from the standpoint of the North; for,—

A. It created much sentimental feeling favorable to the negro, that in after years was proved to be not only misdirected, but positively harmful.

B. It led the North to believe that the South was endeavoring to shirk its duty so far as the welfare of the negro was concerned.

VI. Present conditions have proved that the amendment is working great injury; for,—

A. The negro has clearly shown himself incapable of handling the ballot; for,—

1. He is easily bribed.
2. He shows no judgment or intelligence in voting.
3. He is the prey of the political demagogue.

- B. Race hatred between southern whites and negroes is constantly increasing; for,—
1. The insolent attempts of negroes to dominate elections stirs the anger of the whites.
  2. The whites will never submit to negro domination in political matters.
- C. It is creating a disrespect for law of the constitution; for,—
1. In some of the States schemes have been devised for defeating the purposes of the amendments.
  2. In other States the measure remains almost as a dead letter on the statute book.
  3. Federal officials dare not insist upon an enforcement of the measure; for,—
    - a. It would result in rioting and bloodshed throughout the entire South.

## NEGATIVE

- I. The basic principle of the amendment is just; for,—
- A. The mere color of a man's skin should be no reason for denying him the right of franchise; for,—
1. He may be as worthy as men of other color.
  2. He may be as well educated as men of other races are.
- II. The passage of the amendment was advisable; for,—
- A. It was necessary for the North to take definite stand in favor of the negro; for,—
1. The South would have been glad to keep the negro in a condition of servitude.

B. It was the duty of the North to assure the negro the same rights and immunities that it did the whites.

C. If the amendment had not been passed at the time it was, it doubtless would have resulted in increased animosity between the North and South; for,—

1. As the South gained in strength it would have opposed with increasing bitterness any attempt to pass any measure looking to the betterment of the negro's condition.

III. The argument that because some negroes are not able to exercise wisely the right of suffrage, all of them should be disfranchised, is not valid; for,—

A. There are many whites who do not know how to use their ballots wisely, yet no one argues for a total disfranchisement of all whites on that ground.

IV. The negroes are fast learning the duties of citizenship; for,—

A. Many of them vote intelligently; for,—

1. An increasingly large number are graduates of schools and colleges.

B. They are intensely patriotic and loyal.

C. For the most part, they are industrious and law abiding.

V. The argument that the fifteenth amendment has created hostility between the negro and the southern whites is not valid; for,—

A. The southern whites always have been hostile toward the negro. It took a civil war to make them release him from actual slavery.



VI. The repeal of the amendment at this time would be especially inadvisable; for,—

A. It would be unwarranted; for,—

1. The South is not suffering on account of amendment.

B. It would create immediate hostility between the southern whites and the negroes; for,—

1. The latter would know that they were being deprived of one of their privileges which rightfully belongs to them.

C. It would be opposed to all precedents in American history; for,—

1. No part of the constitution has ever been repealed.

2. It is highly desirable that there be as few changes as possible in the constitution; for,—

a. It is the fundamental law of the land and should not be changed.

VII. If disfranchisement is at all necessary, it should come in such a form as to apply equally to whites and blacks; for,—

A. An ignorant voter is dangerous no matter whether he be white or black; for,—

1. Ignorance is no respecter of the color line.

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## SALOON AS A SOCIAL FACTOR

RESOLVED, That as society is constituted at present, the liquor saloon performs desirable social functions.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The liquor saloon has always been a source of contention.
- II. The root of the controversy apparently is found in the fact that great evil has resulted from excessive drinking in such saloons. As a consequence, many thoughtful-minded citizens bitterly oppose the existence of the liquor saloon.
- III. It is admitted by both sides, however, that the question under discussion is confined wholly to the social aspect of the liquor saloon, and the fact that it also administers to man's physical desire for intoxicants, does not in itself form a part of the discussion.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The liquor saloon offers a practical social retreat to which all classes can go; for,—
  - A. It is a place of meeting where every one is welcome.
  - B. It is a place in which the rich and the poor are on a par for the time being.

C. It is a place to which persons can always go, either as individuals or in groups.

D. It maintains hours that are suited to all classes.

E. It furnishes sociability at a minimum cost; for,—

1. There is no paying of admission or compulsory buying.

II. The liquor saloon stimulates social fellowship; for,—

A. It often provides separate lounging-rooms; for,—

1. The proprietors desire to cultivate the good-will of the men.
2. The proprietors wish to administer to the comforts of their patrons.

B. It maintains requisites for social entertainment; for,—

1. The place is made headquarters for athletic information of all kinds; for,—

- a. Bulletin boards are kept on which can be found telegraphic reports of practically every athletic contest of importance.

- b. Athletic trainers and those personally interested gather to converse.

2. Daily papers and magazines are found on the reading tables.

3. Card rooms can be had for the asking.

4. The place is made the centre of political information; for,—

- a. Practical politicians there come together.

- b. The men talk freely of political situations and candidates.

5. Lunches are often provided; sometimes free, sometimes at actual cost.
6. Adjacent rooms for lodge and other meetings are maintained.
7. There is absolute social freedom, so long as one person does not transgress the rights of another.

III. The liquor saloon contributes certain additional social benefits; for,—

- A. It serves in the capacity of a free labor bureau; for,—
  1. Contractors and employers, seeking each other, congregate there.
  2. The proprietors keep well informed as to the needs of employers and those looking for employment.
- B. It provides a place where men may, during the cold weather, find relief from the cold.
- C. It meets social needs that are supplied in no other way; for,—
  1. The church does not meet them; for,—
    - a. Its principal object is to emphasize and stimulate the religious side of man's nature.
  2. Clubs, lodges, and similar organizations do not meet them; for,—
    - a. They all cover more or less restricted fields; for,—
      - (1) Their memberships are limited.
      - (2) Their times of meeting are limited.

(3) They charge fees or annual dues.

(4) Their places of meeting are limited.

D. It makes men more sympathetic and charitable; for,—

1. At the liquor saloon all men mingle unreservedly. They are all placed on a common footing.

IV. The argument that society might be able to meet the social needs of all classes were the saloons to be abolished, is not valid; for,—

A. The question under discussion is properly confined to conditions as they exist at the present time.

B. Facts show that society is not administering to the social needs in ways that the saloon does; for,—

1. No adequate provision is made to meet man's social wants.

2. The fact is that men do go to the liquor saloons to find satisfaction for their wants.

#### NEGATIVE

I. The liquor saloon is not the proper place in which social instincts should be nurtured; for,—

A. The atmosphere of the liquor saloon is unquestionably immoral and degrading; for,—

1. The worst types of men are found there.

2. No attempt is made to maintain order or decency.



3. Temptations of every kind are placed in the patrons' ways.

B. Saloonkeepers are not desirable persons to mould American social life; for,—

1. They have no thought of the moral welfare of those who frequent saloons.

2. They have no concern for their patrons, except to secure as much of their money as possible.

II. The liquor saloon breeds a degenerate social life; for,—

A. It has a tendency to detract from a man's home affairs; for,—

1. He soon forms the habit of spending his evenings at the saloon.

B. It encourages shiftlessness; for,—

1. Men loaf at saloons when they should be working.

C. It breaks down a man's strength of character; for,—

1. The coarser things of life are constantly emphasized around a saloon, so that soon all desire that a man may have to cultivate the better qualities of his nature is crushed out.

D. It causes a man to lose his self-respect; for,—

1. He gradually grows to consider himself no better than the loafers who frequent the saloons.

E. It causes a person's friends to lose confidence in him; for,—

1. They can not tell at what moment he

will yield to one of the manifold temptations that surround him in the saloon.

F. It places a negative value on the influence of religion in a man's life; for,—

1. Church membership is a subject for jests.
2. Ministers are held up to ridicule.

III. The liquor saloon constantly encourages wrong-doing; for,—

A. It is conducive to intemperate drinking; for,—

1. No restrictions are placed upon the amount a man shall drink.
2. It is considered no disgrace to be drunk.
3. Social treating by friends leads to excessive drinking.

B. It gives a strong impetus to gambling; for,—

1. All the essentials to gambling are furnished; for,—
  - a. Rooms, cards, and tables are free.
  - b. Professional gamblers haunt the saloons night and day.

C. It encourages crime; for,—

1. Criminals are permitted to lounge around the saloons and wait for victims.
2. Criminals find the saloons ideal resorts in which to plan crimes of all sorts.

D. It puts a premium on vice, and deprecates those things that go to make up a well-rounded life; for,—

1. Profanity is constantly heard.
2. Drunkenness is common.
3. Coarseness and vulgarity are seen on every hand.

IV. There is no real necessity for the social life of the liquor saloon; for,—

- A. Most citizens have homes to which they can go, and they should find their social pleasure with their families.
- B. Adequate social stimulus for those who do not have homes can be found in lodges, church activities, public libraries, Y. M. C. A. rooms, theatres, and the like.

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## SHIP SUBSIDY

RESOLVED, That Congress should pass an act providing for some form of ship subsidies.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The origin of the question is found in the following general conditions:
  - A. The desirability of carrying on extensive international trade is to-day generally admitted.
  - B. The chief agency by which international trade is transported is a merchant-marine.
  - C. All the leading powers, except the United States, have comparatively strong merchant-marines for this purpose.
- II. This condition has naturally given rise to the question of the advisability of subsidizing our own marine with the hope that the United States may develop a means of carrying on extensive international trade.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The history of shipping subsidies shows that such bounties are practical; for,—
  - A. England has used subsidies with marked success.
    1. Practice of granting subsidies started as

early as 1651. It has continued down to the present time.

- a. The free ship policy adopted in 1850 is an example of England's adroitness in attempting to supply the world with steel and iron vessels.
2. England's subsidizing policy has had the following results:
  - a. It has gained for England the largest merchant-marine in the world.
  - b. It has secured for England markets in every country in the world.
  - c. It has raised the British merchant-marine from a business of merely private concern to an enterprise of national importance.
3. Comparing England's policy with results gained in the United States where no subsidy is used, we note the following marked contrasts:
  - a. England carries ninety-two per cent of her own goods, and sixty-five per cent of ours. We carry none of England's trade, and but six per cent of our own.
  - b. England realizes annually \$200,000,000 from carrying our goods. We realize nothing from carrying English goods. Instead we pay out annually \$300,000,000 in ocean freight.
4. England is constantly adding to the size and power of her merchant-marine. We

are aimlessly drifting along, and are really in far worse condition than we were fifty years ago.

B. Results achieved by France, Germany, and Japan have been equally as noteworthy; for,—

1. In each country the amount of tonnage has been greatly increased.
2. Many new steamship lines have been established.
3. Foreign trade has greatly increased.
4. Great headway has been made in the construction of steel and iron vessels.

II. There is actual need of assisting the American merchant-marine; for,—

- A. Foreign vessels now carry ninety per cent of our international trade.
- B. We have no direct lines with South America.
- C. Our trade in the Orient is suffering from the lack of an efficient merchant-marine.
- D. The cost of constructing vessels in the United States is greater than the cost in Europe.

III. A subsidy is the best way of aiding our marine; for,—

- A. It would enable American ship-builders to compete successfully with foreign builders.
- B. It would increase our trade with Europe, and open new markets in the Orient and South America.

IV. In addition to extending our foreign trade, a subsidy would be highly desirable; for,—

- A. It would give employment to a large number of our citizens.
- B. It would furnish protection in time of war by

supplying an American marine, manned by American seamen, that could act as transports, supply-boats, and auxiliaries upon almost instant notice.

V. A ship subsidy would be in harmony with our general policy of protection; for,—

A. We have aided many enterprises of a similar nature.

B. We have made ourselves an independent nation by encouraging our home industries.

### NEGATIVE

I. There is no urgent need of a large merchant-marine at the present time; for,—

A. Foreign countries can carry our goods for us more cheaply than we ourselves can.

B. As long as we have goods to carry we shall never lack for some one to transport them.

II. A subsidizing policy would be unwise; for,—

A. It would start bitter competition with all our foreign rivals.

B. It would make it necessary to spend vast sums of money.

C. It would bring undesirable pressure to bear in congressional legislation.

III. Ship subsidies are wrong in principle; for,—

A. They are a tax on the many for the benefit of a few.

B. They would assist only those receiving the bounties; for,—

1. Foreign ships now transport goods as

cheaply as could American vessels with a subsidy.

IV. Experience with ship subsidies does not warrant the adoption of such a policy; for,—

- A. The attempt in the United States was a failure.
- B. The merchant-marine of France has actually decreased since the adoption of the subsidy policy.
- C. England has found it necessary to give remuneration only for services actually rendered.
- D. In all countries trying the plan the tendency toward grafting and special privileges has been increased.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

RESOLVED, That the women of the United States should be granted equal suffrage with men.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Better education for women during the last half century has brought about a demand for the granting of more rights and privileges to women.
- II. One of the most important of these demands is woman suffrage.
- III. There is an agitation for woman suffrage in practically all of the leading countries.
- IV. The demand has doubtless received its chief support from those who believe that through woman suffrage political conditions would be improved.

#### AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Woman suffrage is just; for,—
  - A. Women should be allowed equal privileges with men; for,—
    1. They are as fully deserving of privileges as are men.
  - B. There are many women who are tax-payers. Without the right of suffrage they have no representation in legislation that affects taxation.



- II. Woman suffrage would purify politics; for,—
  - A. Woman has a greater sense of moral responsibility than man.
  - B. Women generally have higher ideals of justice and fair play than do men.
- III. Woman suffrage would give greater democracy in government; for,—
  - A. It would extend the right of suffrage to practically all mature citizens.
  - B. It would give a better expression of the sentiment of the majority of the citizens on given matters.
- IV. Woman suffrage would result in an increase in intelligent voting; for,—
  - A. Women are becoming better educated than men; for,—
    - 1. The schools and colleges show a preponderance of women.
    - 2. Women students are ranking higher than men students in scholarship.
- V. Woman suffrage would be a benefit to women; for,—
  - A. It would awaken in them a still greater interest in political and civil affairs; for,—
    - 1. By means of the ballot they would come vitally in touch with the pending issues of the day.
- VI. Woman suffrage would result in the nomination of better candidates for office; for,—
  - A. Political leaders would know that women would not vote for corrupt and inefficient candidates.
  - B. Women would demand capability and honesty in candidates rather than party affiliation.

- C. Women would have no political pledge to keep or party debts to pay.

### NEGATIVE

#### I. Woman suffrage is unwarranted; for, —

A. The men are capable of conducting the affairs of government.

B. There is no need of a change in our present method of suffrage; for,—

1. The general progress of political and civic matters is satisfactory.

C. Women as a rule do not desire suffrage; for,—

1. They are not interested in political issues; for,—

a. They have their home duties to engage their attention.

2. They do not study the political and economic questions of the day; for,—

a. They prefer social activities and the study of literature.

#### II. Woman suffrage would be unwise; for,—

A. It would inevitably lead to a demand on the part of women to hold office; for,—

1. They would feel that they should be rewarded for their political patronage.

B. It would materially detract from woman's household duties.

C. It would, in some cases, at least, cause family altercations.

#### III. Woman suffrage would result disastrously; for,—

A. Political bosses could easily influence women to vote for undesirable measures; for,—

1. The women would not have a practical understanding of the issues involved.

B. Government stability is often threatened because of too much suffrage at the present time.

IV. Woman suffrage has not resulted successfully when put to practical tests; for,—

A. There have been no lasting benefits; for,—

1. Enthusiasm in Colorado, Utah, and Oklahoma was but short-lived.
2. In school-board elections, etc., where women have been permitted to vote they have scarcely ever gone to the polls after the novelty of voting has passed.
3. Better candidates have not been put into office as a result of the women voting.

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## YELLOW PERIL

RESOLVED, That the rapid awakening of the Mongolian race is perilous to the Caucasian supremacy of the world.

### BRIEF

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Since the ports of Japan were opened for foreign commerce by Perry in 1854, the Japanese have shown remarkable ability in adapting themselves to modern conditions.
  - A. The Japanese-Russian War illustrated how effectively the Mongolian can use modern implements of warfare.
- II. The Chinese also are beginning to adapt themselves to modern conditions; for,—
  - A. China is providing means for the general diffusion of knowledge.
  - B. Great factories are being built in that country.
  - C. Her great mineral resources are being developed.
  - D. Great railways are being constructed throughout the empire.
  - E. Her people are adopting the Caucasian style of dress.
- III. By awakening we mean the rousing of the Mongolian race from their long slumber to the activities of the twentieth century.



- IV. It is also agreed that Caucasian supremacy is that dominating influence which the Caucasian race now exerts over the industrial, educational, and military world.

## AFFIRMATIVE

- I. From an industrial standpoint Mongolian awakening would be disastrous to Caucasian supremacy; for,—
- A. China has vast mineral resources that are of great worth which would come into immediate competition with Caucasian-owned resources. For example:
1. Her coal mines cover an area of over four hundred thousand square miles.
  2. Her silver and gold mines are very rich.
  3. Much of her soil is extremely fertile.
- B. Mongolian natives are establishing great cotton mills which are producing goods more cheaply than can Caucasian countries; for,—
1. The standard of living of the Mongolian is lower than the Caucasian standard.
  2. Wages are very much lower than paid by Caucasians.
  3. The great mass of the Mongolian population live from their daily labor alone.
- C. Japan has already sounded the alarm for the safety of Caucasian industrial supremacy; for,—
1. As far back as 1902, she exported three million yens of manufactured goods from a territory less in extent than New Mexico.
- D. The exports of China were alone from China amount to many millions of dollars each year.

II. Mongolian awakening is perilous to Caucasian commercial supremacy; for,—

A. Japan has already captured a large share of the transportation business of the Pacific; for,—

1. The Japanese carry freight cheaper than can Caucasian vessels; for,—

a. Mongolian wages are lower.

b. She secures her coal for less money.

c. She transports her own goods to Caucasian markets while making the same trip.

B. What is now true of Japan is becoming more and more true of China; for,—

1. The Chinese are more intelligent than the Japanese.

2. The Chinese are stronger physically than the Japanese.

3. The Chinese are being instructed by the Japanese; for,—

a. Japan wishes to hasten the day of Mongolian supremacy.

III. Mongolian awakening is dangerous to Caucasian supremacy from the standpoint of population; for,—

A. An awakening among nations or a race always results in extensive emigration and immigration; for,—

1. Men go from place to place endeavoring to better their condition.

B. When Caucasian and Mongolian are placed side by side the Caucasian will lose in the contest; for,—

1. He can not successfully compete against the lower standard of living of the Mongolian.
2. Mongolian ideals are distinctly different from those of the Caucasian.

IV. Mongolian awakening is perilous to Caucasian military supremacy; for,—

A. The vast numbers of Mongolian troops could be put into service; for,—

1. Both China and Japan have many millions of able-bodied citizens.

B. Both China and Japan are raising and training new armies; for,—

1. They fear the present Caucasian power.
2. They wish to protect their growing commercial interests.

C. Mongolian superiority was illustrated in the Japanese-Russian War.

#### NEGATIVE

I. There is no likelihood of governmental domination by the Mongolian race; for,—

A. The Mongolian race is inferior in native ability; for,—

1. While it is old in point of years, it has never built any great governmental structures.
2. It has not even kept abreast with civilization.

II. There is no danger of industrial domination by the Mongolian; for,—

A. Caucasian capital will always be necessary to develop Mongolian resources; for,—

1. The Mongolian has never been able to conserve his capital. He lives a hand-to-mouth existence.

B. The industrial development of the Mongolian is dependent upon Caucasian trade; for,—

1. Without this trade the Mongolian can never become a world-power.

C. Cheap Mongolian labor will not harm the Caucasian; for,—

1. It is efficiency that decides the economic value of labor; not its cheapness.

III. There is no danger of Mongolian military domination; for,—

A. Naturally defective eyesight makes the Mongolian inefficient with small arms.

B. Caucasians have always proved themselves superior from a strategic standpoint.

C. The example of Japanese victory over Russia is not sufficient proof of Mongolian superiority; for,—

1. Russia is not a leading Caucasian power, while Japan is the leading Mongolian power.

IV. There is no danger of Mongolian domination in intellectual matters; for,—

A. The Mongolian is being civilized according to Caucasian standards and in a manner prescribed by the Caucasian.

- V. On the other hand, beneficial results are certain to follow the awakening of the Mongolian race; for,—
- A. Such an awakening will create a healthy competition between Mongolians and Caucasians.
  - B. Such an awakening will open up new markets for Caucasian trade.
  - C. Such an awakening will give a supreme opportunity for Caucasian civilization, ideals, and religions to dominate the whole world.

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## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### A MODEL CONSTITUTION FOR A LITERARY SOCIETY

The following constitution is submitted as a model to be followed in organizing a high-school debating or literary society.

## CONSTITUTION

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### ARTICLE I

NAME.—This organization shall be known as the \_\_\_\_\_ Society of the \_\_\_\_\_.

### ARTICLE II

OBJECT.—The object of this society shall be the intellectual, social, and moral culture of those connected with it.

### ARTICLE III

MOTTO.—The motto of this society shall be \_\_\_\_\_.

### ARTICLE IV

SEC. 1. *Eligibility*.—No person shall become a member of this society who is not at the time of his or her election to membership connected with the \_\_\_\_\_ [name of school to be inserted here].

SEC. 2. *Proposal of Names and Election to Membership*.—The name of any eligible person shall be proposed at least one week before it is balloted upon; and if, upon balloting, no more than three (3) ballots be cast against his admission, he shall become an active member upon paying to the society the sum of \_\_\_\_\_, and signing the constitution and by-laws; provided he do so within three (3) weeks from the time of his election to membership; and no name, when laid upon the table, can be taken therefrom at a regular business meeting.

## ARTICLE V

SEC. 1. *To become inactive.*—An active member becomes inactive upon receiving honorary membership from this society; and any member at his own request may become inactive by a majority vote at any regular business session; provided he shall have settled, or satisfactorily arranged, all dues to the society; and provided, also, that there be at the time of his retirement ——— active members remaining in the society.

SEC. 2. *Privileges of Inactive Members.*—No inactive member shall take part in society business; nor shall he hold any office under this constitution and these by-laws, nor appear on any program except as a substitute.

SEC. 3. *To Become Active.*—An inactive member may become active, either at his own request, or through another member, by a majority vote of this society.

SEC. 4. *Society Representatives.*—Any person, while representing this society, or the ———, or any inter-scholastic, preliminary, or class debate, shall be excused from attendance at any open or closed session during such time. Nor shall he, during such time, be put on any program. The privileges of this section may be extended to any member of this society doing special work for the society by a two-thirds vote.

## ARTICLE VI

SEC. 1. *Punishments.*—The punishments of this society shall be fines, removal, and expulsion.

SEC. 2. *Fines.*—All fines not hereinafter specified shall be levied by the President or society.

SEC. 3. *Expulsion.*—Any member for sufficient cause may be expelled from this society; the proceedings being the same as for removal.

SEC. 4. *Delinquent Members.*—When the financial obligations to the society shall amount to two (2) dollars or more, he shall be notified of the fact by the treasurer in writing. If he does not discharge such obligation within three weeks of the receipt of the notification, the treasurer shall serve a second written notice, and unless the obligation is discharged within one week after the second notice, said member shall suffer suspension *de facto*, such

suspension to be announced by the treasurer at the next regular meeting of the society. And it is further provided that unless said member shall, within one month after his suspension, discharge in full his obligation to the society, he shall permanently forfeit his membership. Any active member who shall absent himself from both roll-calls for four consecutive regular meetings without valid excuse, after due notice, shall thereby be expelled from the society.

#### ARTICLE VII

SEC. 1. *Officers.*—The officers of this society shall consist of President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, and two Sergeants-at-Arms, each of whom, excepting the Treasurer, shall hold office during one society term, or until his successor is installed. The Treasurer shall be elected in the election just before commencement, to serve for the term of a year.

SEC. 2. *Society Term.*—The school year shall be divided into three terms, ending as follows: The first at the opening of the holiday recess; the second, on the last Friday preceding March 20th; and the third, with the end of the school year.

SEC. 3. *Standing Committees.*—The standing committees of this society shall be the executive, auditing, program, music, and historian.

#### ARTICLE VIII

SEC. 1. *Duties of President, Vice-President, and Recording Secretary.*—The duties of the President, Vice-President, and Recording Secretary shall be such as are prescribed in Roberts' "Rules of Order"; and it shall be the further duty of the Secretary to call the roll at the open and regular business sessions, to keep a record of all absences and failures to appear on the program, and to report all fines to the Treasurer at the close of each business session, and to keep the minutes of the society and its open programs copied in permanent records of the society.

SEC. 2. *Duties of Corresponding Secretary.*—It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to take charge of the correspondence and bulletins of the society; and it shall further be his duty to see that the program of each open session is properly posted be-

fore 8:30 A. M. of the day, on the evening of which the program is to be given.

SEC. 3. *Duties of the Treasurer.*—It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to collect all dues and take charge of all moneys belonging to the society, to disburse the same upon the written order of the President and Secretary, to make such reports as the society may require, to keep a debit and credit account, and to give such notice to delinquent members as is provided for in Article VI, Section 4, of this constitution.

SEC. 4. *Duties of the Sergeants-at-Arms.*—It shall be the duty of the Sergeants-at-Arms to attend the society during its sittings, to aid in the enforcement of order under the direction of the presiding officer; to execute the commands of the society from time to time, and to act as ushers in public sessions.

SEC. 5. *Executive Committee.*—This committee shall consist of the President, Vice-President, and Recording Secretary. It shall be the duty of this committee to act for the society in all incidental matters and to audit all accounts of the Treasurer.

SEC. 6. *Program Committee.*—This committee shall consist of two members to be appointed by the President at the first meeting of each term, to hold office during one society term. The duties of this committee shall be to arrange the programs of the literary exercises; to see that each member is placed on the program at least once each term; to keep a permanent record of the appearance of each member; to report programs at least four weeks in advance and for the first four meetings of the following term.

SEC. 7. *Historian.*—It shall be the duty of the historian to take charge of and file all records, and other material of interest, in the historical library of the school.

## ARTICLE IX

PENALTY FOR DELINQUENCY.—Any member reported in arrears by the Treasurer shall be deprived of the privileges of speaking and voting in the business session until said arrears are paid.

## ARTICLE X

HOW AMENDED.—This constitution may be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the active members present at any regular business meeting; notice of such alteration or amendment having

been read before the society and filed with the Secretary at least three weeks in advance.

## BY-LAWS

### ARTICLE I

SEC. 1. *Sessions — when held.*—The public literary sessions of this society shall occur on ————— evenings.

SEC. 2. *Special Meetings.*—Special meetings shall be called by the President, at the request of five active members.

SEC. 3. *Secrecy of Business.*—The business sessions of this society shall be held with closed doors. Secrecy with regard to the business of the society shall be enjoined on all members.

SEC. 4. *Quorum.*—A quorum shall consist of two-fifths of the active members of the society.

### ARTICLE II

SEC. 1. *Election by Ballot.*—All elections in the society shall be by ballot; a majority of all votes cast being necessary to a choice.

SEC. 2. *Nominations.*—All nominations shall be by informal ballot. The three active members receiving the highest number of ballots shall be nominees.

SEC. 3. *Election of Officers.*—The election of officers for the succeeding term shall be held at the last regular meeting of each term.

### ARTICLE III — TAXES

SEC. 1. *Special Taxes.*—At any regular business session an equal tax may be levied on all active members by a two-thirds vote.

SEC. 2. *When due.*—A tax shall be due one week after it is levied.

SEC. 3. *On whom Binding.*—Any member having been active at the time of any business session in a society term shall be held for all taxes levied during that term; said tax or taxes, if voted while he is a retired member, to be due when he shall become active.

### ARTICLE IV

SEC. 1. *Fines for Non-performance.*—Any active member failing to perform any duty assigned to him, unless excused from

such duty by a two-thirds vote, shall be fined fifty (50) cents; provided that in case of non-performance of duty on the program, the fine shall be \$1.00.

SEC. 2. *Fines for Absence, etc.*—Any member absenting himself from roll-call at the open session, or who shall leave the room during the open session without permission of the President, shall stand fined ten (10) cents, and for leaving the room during business session without permission of the President shall stand fined fifteen (15) cents, and any member absenting himself from roll-call of the business session shall stand fined fifteen (15) cents; said fines to be reported to the Secretary by the President.

#### ARTICLE V

RULES OF ORDER.—Roberts' "Rules of Order" shall be the standard of parliamentary usage in this society.

#### ARTICLE VI

RULES OF ORDER.—The following rules of order shall be binding upon the society:

RULE 1. *Yeas and Nays.*—Upon the ordering of the yeas and nays, each active member shall without debate give his vote unless especially excused before the voting commences.

RULE 2. *Protest.*—Any member offering a protest against any of the proceedings of this society may have the same, if in respectful language, entered in full in the minutes.

RULE 3. *Order of Business.*—The following shall be the order of exercises for the regular sessions of this society:

#### Public Literary Session.

- I. Roll call.
- II. Program.
- III. Adjournment.

#### Business Session.

- I. Reading and disposition of minutes.
- II. Critic's report on program.
- III. Reading of programs by program committee.
- IV. Treasurer's report and excusal of fines.
- V. Initiation, signing constitution, and paying of initiation fee.



- VI. Balloting on names of candidates for membership.
- VII. Suggestion and proposal of new names.
- VIII. Election of officers.
- IX. Reports of committees.
- X. Unfinished business.
- XI. New business.
- XII. Roll call.
- XIII. Adjournment.

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE UPON WHICH THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HAS ISSUED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

**ARBITRATION.** Select list of references on industrial arbitration; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 15 pp.

— List of references on international arbitration; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 151 pp.

Includes references on the Conferences at the Hague, Limitations of armaments, Collection of debts of foreign countries, French occupation of Mexico, Venezuela case, The San Domingo question, 1904-1905, and the Monroe doctrine, and war and peace.

**BANKS AND BANKING.** List of the more important works in the Library of Congress on banks and banking; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 55 pp.

— — (New Issue.) *In Preparation.*

— List of works relating to the 1st and 2nd banks of the United States; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 47 pp.

Indicates material complementary to that given in "Select list relating to currency and banking." Documentary material contained in the American State Papers and in the Congressional documents forms a separate section.

— List of references on guaranty of bank deposits.

*In Preparation.*

**BOYCOTTS.** Select list of references on boycotts and injunctions in labor disputes. *In Press.*

**BUDGET.** Select list of references on the budget of foreign countries; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 19 pp.

The titles in this list have been brought together to meet requests in regard to public expenditures of foreign countries. It includes a number of titles of works showing the growth of public expenditures, with discussions of the causes of increases.

**CABINETS.** Select list of books on the cabinets of England and America; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 8 pp.

**CHILD LABOR.** List of books (with references to periodicals) relating to child labor; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1906. 66 pp.

**CHINESE IMMIGRATION.** Select list of references on Chinese immigration; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 31 pp.

**COLONIZATION.\*** List of books (with references to periodicals) relating to the theory of colonization, government of dependencies, protectorates, and related topics; by A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1900. 131 pp.

— 2d ed., with additions. 1900. 156 pp.

Includes references on Government of dependencies, Protectorates, Climate and colonization, Expansion of the United States, British, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, Cuba under Spain, and Philippines under Spain.

Reprinted in U. S. Bureau of statistics (Treasury department). Colonial administration, 1800-1900. In monthly summary of commerce and finance. Oct., 1901, pp. 1576-1626; and March, 1903, pp. 2941-3000.

**CURRENCY.** Select list of books, with references to periodicals relating to currency and banking, with special regard to recent conditions; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 93 pp.

This list is principally concerned with works on banking and currency systems of the world and with plans and discussions of currency reform in this country, including recent phases of the question. The list of works relating to 1st and 2nd Banks of United States supplements this.

**DEEP WATERWAYS** List of works relating to deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean, with some other

\* Exhausted.

related works; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 59 pp.

The list contains references to discussions of the more recently suggested plans of development, as well as the older plans, whether merely suggested or actually carried out.

**EIGHT-HOUR DAY.** List of books relating to the eight-hour working day and to limitation of working hours in general; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 24 pp.

It refers to the official publications of Belgium, France, and Great Britain as well as the United States. Eight pages are devoted to articles in periodicals; these are followed by a list of the sets of periodicals in the Library of Congress dealing with the labor question exclusively.

**ELECTIONS.** Select list of references on corrupt practices in elections; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 12 pp.

Contains references on such subjects as the money power in politics, machine politics and public patronage, as well as to publicity and other efforts to prevent corruption.

**EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.** Select list of works relating to employers' liability; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin. 1906. 25 pp.

**FAR EAST.** Select list of books (with references to periodicals) relating to the Far East; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 74 pp.

Includes references on Russia, Russian expansion, Trans-Siberian railroad, Tibet, Manchuria, Japan, Korea, Russo-Japanese relations, American relations in the Far East, Anglo-Russian relations, China.

**FEDERAL CONTROL.** Select list of references on federal control of commerce and corporations; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 8 pp.

— List of more recent works on federal control of commerce. 1907. 16 pp.

**FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.** List of discussions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, with special reference to negro suffrage; compiled under direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1906. 18 pp.

**GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.** Select list of references on government ownership of railroads; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 14 pp.

**IMMIGRATION.** List of books (with references to periodicals) on immigration; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 76 pp.

— 2d issue, with additions. 1905. 99 pp.

— 3d issue, with additions. 1907. 157 pp.

**IMPEACHMENT.** Select list of references on impeachment; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1905. 16 pp.

**INCOME TAX.** Select list of works relating to taxation of inheritances and of incomes; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1907. 86 pp.

Includes a list of Congressional documents and debates relating to direct taxation and a list of treatises on the Constitution of the United States which give consideration to the taxing power.

**INITIATIVE.** List of references on initiative and referendum.

*In Preparation.*

**INSURANCE.\*** List of works relating to government regulation of insurance, United States and foreign countries; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1906. 46 pp.

— Select list of references on workingmen's insurance — General, United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 28 pp.

This list supplements the list of references on old-age and civil-service pensions, published in 1903. The arrangement is by broadly classified references to the general subject grouped under the names of countries that have developed the subject to any extent, with an author index at the end.

\* Exhausted.

**LABOR.** Select list of books (with references to periodicals) on labor, particularly relating to strikes; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 65 pp.

**MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.** Select list of books on municipal affairs, with special reference to municipal ownership; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1906. 34 pp.

This list is intended to afford a ready-to-hand guide for the ordinary investigator to writings for and against municipal ownership and to material showing conditions in various municipalities.

**NEGRO QUESTION.\*** Select list of references on the negro question; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 28 pp.

**OCCUPATION OF PHILIPPINES.** List of works relating to the American occupation of the Philippine Islands, 1898-1903; by A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. Reprinted from the list of books (with references to periodicals) on the Philippine Islands, 1903, with some additions to 1905. 1905. 100 pp.

**PENSIONS.** Select list of references on old-age and civil-service pensions; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1903. 18 pp.

A list complementary to this is entitled, Select list on workingmen's insurance.

**POLITICAL PARTIES.** List of works relating to political parties in the United States; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1907. 29 pp.

Contains titles of books and articles on the formation and history of political parties in the United States. It does not include works on the general political history of the nation, unless they treat of party organization or party action. While the list is not exhaustive, it includes, besides the better-known writings, some others which are of particular interest to the special investigator. Party proceedings, and, as a rule, biographical studies are omitted, nor has an exhibit of source material been attempted, the purpose being rather to note the literature of parties as interpreted by their historians.

\* Exhausted.

**POSTAL SAVINGS.** List of books relating to postal savings banks; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1908. 23 pp.

Includes a list of articles in United States Consular reports.

**PRIMARY ELECTIONS.** List of references on primary elections, particularly direct primaries; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1905. 25 pp.

**RAILROADS.** A list of books (with references to periodicals) on railroads in their relation to the government and the public, with appendix containing list of references on the Northern Securities case; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 72 pp.

— 2d issue. 1907. 131 pp.

In this reprint are introduced some works showing the operation of government ownership in foreign countries, both from a critical and a favorable standpoint. The legislation which resulted in the interstate commerce law of 1906 is represented in the government documents listed. The list is mainly concerned with material in the Library of Congress on railroads in the United States in their economic and political relations. It embodies treatises on the theory and history of railroad combinations, governmental investigations, speeches in Congress, and reports on interstate commerce, with references to some judicial decisions, and references on the Northern Securities case.

— Select list of references on the valuation and capitalization of railroads; compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, Chief Bibliographer. 1909. 28 pp.

This list was printed as manuscript to meet an immediate call for references on railroad valuation. The subject was found to be so interwoven with that of railroad capitalization that it proved inexpedient to separate the two. The list therefore includes both subjects, with emphasis only on railroad valuation. A few works on the economics of railroad construction have been included because of their relation to the subject.

**RAILROADS.** Select list of books on railroads in foreign countries. Governmental regulation. General, Continental Europe, International freight agreement, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1905. 72 pp.

**RECIPROCITY.** List of references on reciprocity; books, articles in periodicals, Congressional documents; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1902. 38 pp.

Also printed as Senate document 317, 57th Congress, 1st session, in serial No. 4241.

— 2d ed., with additions by H. H. B. Meyer. 1910. 137 pp.

This edition includes the references on Canada issued in 1907 with additions, also sections on reciprocity with Hawaii, with Cuba, and reciprocity under the McKinley act, 1890-1894.

— Select list of books with references to periodicals, on reciprocity with Canada; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1907. 14 pp.

Briefly calls attention to the official sources of information, such as the publications of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Department of Commerce and Labor, the Canadian Department of Customs and Department of Trade and Commerce, as well as the consular reports of the United States and Great Britain.

**RECOGNITION.** A list of references on recognition in international law and practice; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 18 pp.

— (New issue.)

*In Preparation.*

**REPRESENTATION.** A list of books (with references to periodicals) relating to proportional representation; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 30 pp.

— (New issue.)

*In Preparation.*

**SENATORS.\*** Debates in federal convention on election of Senators, with extracts from federal list and bibliography; compiled by A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1902. 14 pp.

Also printed as Senate document 404, 57th Congress, 1st session, in serial No. 4245.

\* Exhausted.



**SENATORS.** List of references on the popular election of Senators; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 39 pp.

This is a rearrangement with additions of Senate document 404, 57th Congress, 1st session.

**SUBSIDIES.** A list of books (with references to periodicals) on mercantile marine subsidies; compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1900. 43 pp.

Also printed as Senate document 61, 56th Congress, 2d session, in serial No. 4033.

**SUGAR.** Select list of references on sugar, chiefly in its economic aspects; compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, Chief Bibliographer, 1910. 238 pp.

Emphasis has been placed on the economic side. It seemed desirable, however, to include writings on the culture and growth of sugar-producing plants, and on the chemistry and technology of sugar. These three divisions of the subject have pointed the way to the most natural arrangement of the material under three main headings: General and Economic, Agriculture, Chemistry and Manufacture.

**SUPREME COURT.** List of works relating to the Supreme Court of the United States; compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, Chief Bibliographer. 1909. 124 pp.

The list is in four sections: The first containing general works on the court; the two next, the reports and digests; and the last, biographical material on the chief justices and associate justices. Some of the more important writings of the chief justices are noted.

**TARIFF.** Select list of references on the British tariff movement (Chamberlain's plan); compiled by A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1904. 37 pp.

**TRUSTS.** A list of books (with references to periodicals) relating to trusts; by A. P. C. Griffin, Chief Bibliographer. 1900. 20 pp.

— 2d edition, with additions. 1902. 41 pp.

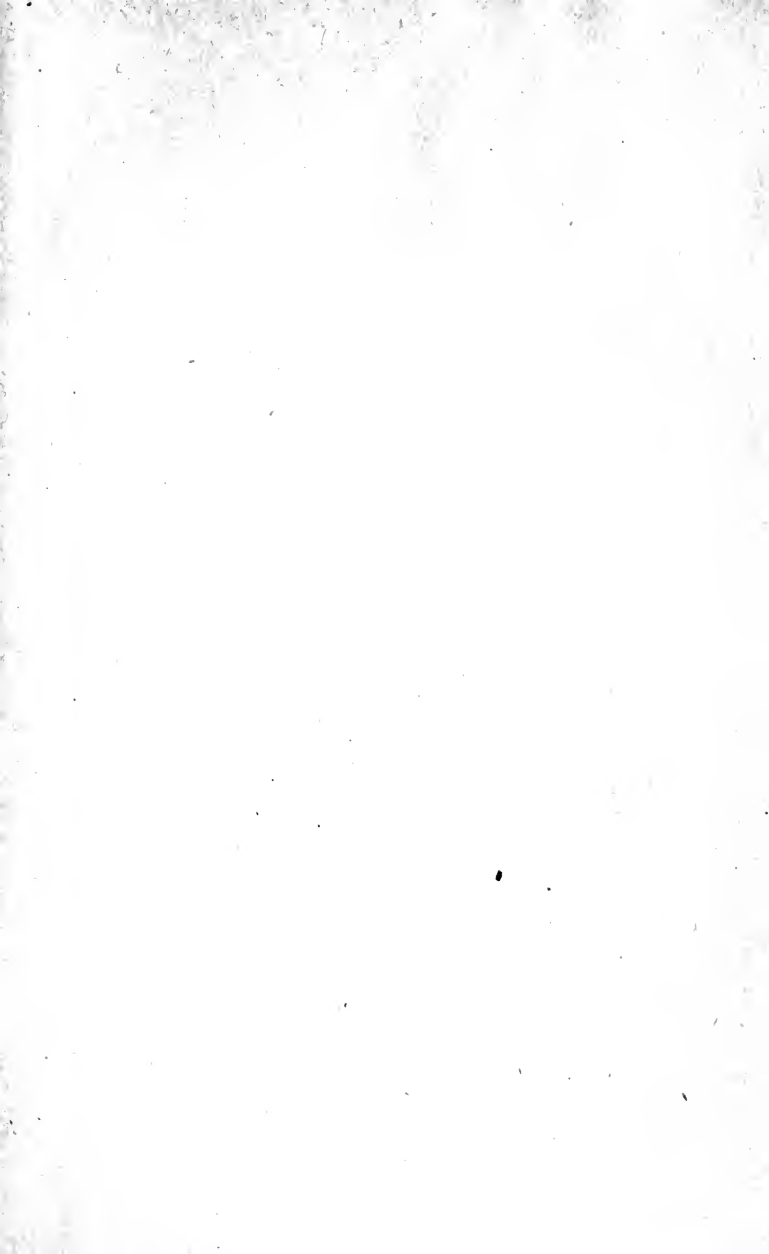
— 3d ed., with supplementary select list. 1907. 43 pp.

**WAGES.** List of references on wages. *In Preparation.*









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